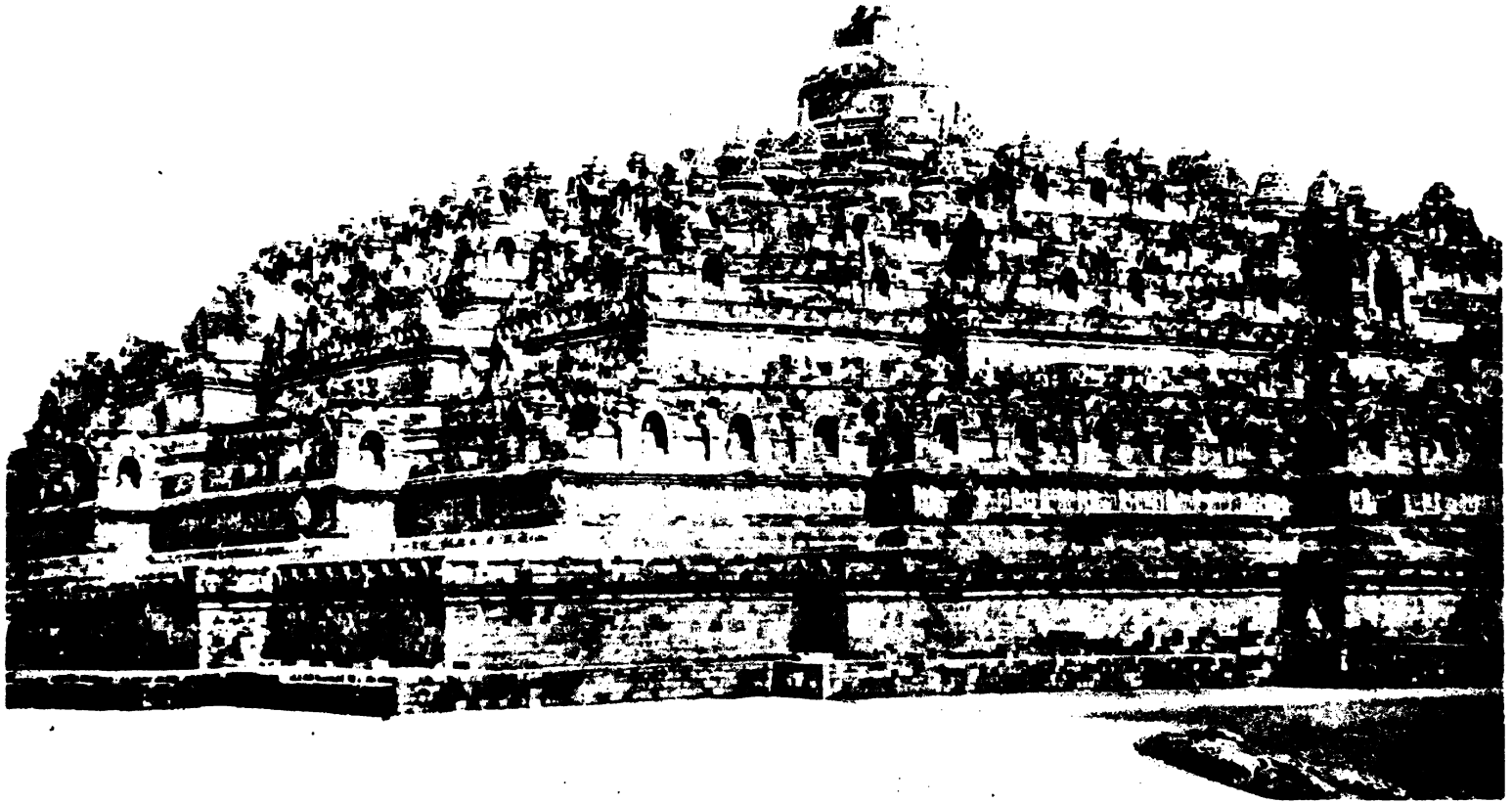
BARABUḌUR

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION

N. J. KROM



BARABUDUR

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IN FIVE VOLUMES

VOLUME-I

Gian Publishing House

29/6 SHAKTI NAGAR, DELHI-110007, INDIA

GIAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
PUBLISHERS OF BOOKS ON HUMAN CIVILIZATION
29/6 SHAKTI NAGAR, DELHI-110007, INDIA

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Date 14.3.86

Published by special arrangement with
Martinus Nijhoff/Dr. W. Junk
Publishers, Dordrecht, The Netherlands

First Indian Reprint, 1986

We are grateful to :
Pandit Satkari Mukhopadhyaya
for his Advice and Guidance
in Publishing this Work

COMPUTERISED
C7403
Sl. No. 007115

Printed at Goyal Offset Printers, Delhi-110035
and published by Smt. Gayatri Garg
for Gian Publishing House, Delhi-110007

Cover designed by Bimanesh Roy Choudhury

ORIGINAL TITLE PAGE

BARABUDUR

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION

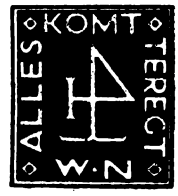
BY

N. J. KROM
PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LEYDEN

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME I

WITH A FRONTISPIECE IN PHOTOGRAVURE



THE HAGUE
MARTINUS NIJHOFF
1927

REPRINT PUBLISHERS' NOTE

Barabudur, the most magnificent monument in Java, Indonesia, is a colossal structure justly regarded as a veritable wonder by the whole world. The noble architecture, built in the early ninth century A.D., consists of nine gradually receding terraces, three uppermost ones being encircled by rings of *stūpas*, each containing an image of the Buddha within a perforated framework. The five lower terraces are encircled by four successive galleries which contain eleven series of the sculptured panels depicting the life of the Buddha and other Buddhist stories. The total number of sculptured panels in the galleries is about 1500. Not only the massive grandeur but also the fine quality of the immense decorations, extensive relief sculptures and the numerous images of the Buddha deeply impress any visitor. This combination of massive quantity and fine quality invests Barabudur with a unique character. It has hardly any parallel in the world, and it may be truly remarked of its artists that 'they conceived like giants and finished like jewellers.'

A complete explanation of all that is depicted in this most splendid creation of Hindu-Javan culture was, therefore, not very easy, though efforts had been being made since the beginning of the present century. It was possible thanks to the interest and enthusiasm of the then Government of the Netherlands. A complete series of photographs of the monument were made between 1907 and 1911. Then Koninklijk Institut vor de Taat-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie was commissioned to publish the archaeological and architectural descriptions of Barabudur. The result of this project was the publication of a monograph in Dutch, in two volumes, the archaeological part by Nicholas Johannes Krom and the architectural part by T. Van Erp, with 692 plates of photographs in three folios.

The author of the archaeological part has recorded all that is known about the significance of Barabudur and what could be gained from original sources like the *Avadanas* and the *Jātakas*, the *Jataka-mālā* of Āryaśūra, and the *Gandavyūhasūtra*.

An English edition of the archaeological part by N.J. Krom, in very limited number of copies, was issued in 1927, in two volumes with 442

plates of illustrations, which is long out of print. The present publication is a photographic reproduction of the 1927 English edition of the archaeological part.

The reprint edition is being issued by special arrangement with M/s Martinus Nijhoff/Dr. W. Junk, Publishers, Dordrecht, the Netherlands, to whom our sincerest thanks are due.

We also like to put on record our deep sense of gratitude for Dr. Subhas Chandra Biswas, Director, Central Secretariat Library, New Delhi and Sri Manibhai Prajapati, Librarian for Gujarati and Sanskrit in the same Library, but for whose kind encouragement and active help we could not have succeeded in this venture.

CONTENTS

PREFACE VII

CHAPTER I. FOUNDATION AND HISTORY OF BARABUDUR . . . 1

II. THE RELIEFS ON THE COVERED BASE 47

THE FRIEZE OF THE BASE 93

III. THE STORY OF THE LIFE OF BUDDHA 99
(*First gallery, chief wall, top series*)

IV. THE AVADĀNA'S AND JĀTAKA'S 230
Part I. (*First gallery, chief wall, lowest series*)

V. THE JĀTAKAMĀLĀ 312
(*First gallery, balustrade; top series, first part*)

VI. THE AVADĀNA'S AND JĀTAKA'S 396
Continuation and conclusion. (*First gallery, balustrade, top series, second part; lowest series; second gallery, balustrade*)

SUMMARY

of the 244 plates of parts 1—7
with reference to the corresponding text (vol. I)

		Series	Plates	Text
Part 1	Ground plan with situation of reliefs		A	
	Vertical section shewing position of reliefs . .		B	
	View of the monument		C	
	View of the partly-exposed base		D	
	Reliefs of the covered base	O	I—XX	47—93
2	Decorative reliefs:			
	Frieze decoration of the base	D.O	I—V	
	Decoration of the outside of balustrades . .	D.B'	VI—IX	
	Decoration between the reliefs of the first gallery, balustrade, lowest row.	D.B.I.b	X	
	Decoration between the reliefs 2d gallery, balustrade	D.B.II	XI—XIII	

CHAPTER VII

THE GAṆḌAVYŪHA

(Second gallery, chief wall)

The text followed in the reliefs of the second gallery is I believe that of the Gaṇḍavyūha. This work belongs like the Lalitavistara represented on the first gallery, to the so-called "nine Dharma's", and may therefore be considered a most authoritative text[1]); moreover it is distinguished far above the others by being more vivid in description and suitable for depicting in sculpture. No printed copy of this text exists [2]), and as circumstances make it impossible for us to consultthe manuscripts, I shall first of all relate in detail what is known about this work from other sources.

The first to discover the existence of this text, as well as so many other Sanscrit works, was B. H. Hodgson. He announced it in his well-known article on the literature of Nepal among the nine Dharma's [3]) and gave the following description of it:

"Ganda Vyúha, a Vyákarana Sástra, contains forms of supplication and of thanksgiving, also how to obtain Bodhijnána, or the wisdom of Buddhism. Prose: speaker, Sákya; hearer, Sudhana Kumára. The Ganda Vyúha is a treatise on transcendentalism by Arya Sanga the teacher of the Yogáchárya." (p. 16).

And elsewhere: "The second [Dharma] is named Ganda Vyúha, of 12.000 slokas, which contains the history of Sudhana Kumára, who made sixty-four persons his gurus, from whom he acquired Bodhijnána" (p. 49).

[1]) We find it quoted as such in later works; see for instance Çāntideva's Çikṣāsamuccaya in Bendall's edition (Bibl. Buddh. I 1902) p. 34, 101, 368 and Introduction p. XI; Subhāṣitasaṃgraha (Muséon 4, 1903) p. 387; etc.

[2]) At the beginning of the war there was one being prepared for the Bibliotheca Buddhica.

[3]) Essays on the languages, literature and religion of Nepál and Tibet (1874), p. 13.

Burnouf mentions the work too, quoting Hodgson twice [1]), the third time to controvert the opinion, that sūtra's of this sort should be reckoned among the older Buddhist writings and be used as a source of information for the study of original Buddhism. He on the contrary considers that nothing else will be found in them, "que les développements d'une doctrine complète, triomphante et qui se croit sans rivale" (p. 125). Burnouf restricts himself to a review of the character of this work but gives nothing more about the contents.

From the manuscript presented by Hodgson to the Asiatic Society of Bengal there were published in 1877 and 1882 short and as will appear, incomplete lists of contents, respectively by Rájendralála Mitra in the preface to his edition of the Lalitavistara [2]), and by Haraprasád Çástrí in Rájendralála Mitra's Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal [3]). Up to the present, these summaries are all that is known of the contents of the Gaṇḍavyūha. Neither in Bendall's Catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts in the Library of Cambridge university, which describes two manuscripts of this work [4]), nor in the new history of Sanskrit literature by Winternitz, are there any further particulars to be found about this text. Winternitz restricts himself to the statement that Mañjuçrī is praised in this work as the one who can bring to perfect knowledge [5]). Finally Pelliot has given a clear explanation [6]) of the unfortunate confusion that arose between Gaṇḍavyūha and Ghanavyūha and the identification of the former with the Avataṃsaka [7]); as regards the contents there was no reason for further explanation. As therefore for these contents, we have no other sources of information than the abovementioned reviews, it will be as well to quote them in extenso. I shall first give that of Haraprasád Çástrí, it being the most complete.

"The history of Sudhana in search of the perfect knowledge. The work is reckoned as one of the nine principal scriptures of the Buddhists, and held in high esteem. It was taken to China in the 7th century, and was translated into the Chinese language by Amoghavajra during the reign of the Tang dynasty. Its Chinese name is Ta-shin-mi-yen-king.

"Once upon a time while residing with Samantabhadra, Manjuśrí and

[1]) Introduction à l'histoire du Buddhisme indien, p. 54 and 68 of the first edition (1844).

[2]) Published in the Bibliotheca Indica of Calcutta, no. 51 etc.

[3]) Page 90—93.

[4]) Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge (1883) p. 23 and 102.

[5]) Geschichte der indischen Literatur II, 1 (1913) p. 242.

[6]) Notes à propos d'un Catalogue du Kanjur, Journ. Asiat. 11 : 4 (1914) p. 118—121.

[7]) Comp. Chapt. XIII.

others, lord Buddha showed them the marvellous workings of a certain mystic position called Siñha-vijrimbhita. As soon as the lord assumed that meditative position, the interior of the room expanded to an indefinite extent, the floor became thickly studded with sapphires and other precious stones, and gigantic pillars of solid emeralds supported the roof. A Bodhisattva, named Raśmiprabha, decorated the sky with clouds of various kinds, some showing heavenly flora, some raining nectarous perfumes.

"Then Sáriputra, approaching Manjuśrí, made him acquainted with the presence of a host of holy Bhikshus. With them Manjuśrí started on a journey to the southern regions, and settled himself in a grove where stood the Vihára of Máladhvajavyúha, where he had formerly held his meditations. On this the people of the neighbouring town of Danyakára came in crowds to receive his instructions and his benediction. The lord taught them, and singled out one young man to be the object of his special favour. This young man was named Sudhana from the fact that immediately after his birth his father had suddenly become very rich. Manjuśrí narrated to him the marvellous deeds of Lord Buddha. Sudhana chanted the praise of Manjuśrí in sweet and melodious verses, and declared himself a candidate for Bodhi knowledge.

"Manjuśrí advised him to have the benefit of instruction from Meghaśrí, who resided at Mount Sugríva in the country called Rámavarta. Meghaśrí shifted the burden of instructing Sudhana to Ságaramegha of Ságaramukha, who in his turn advised Sudhana to repair to Supratiṣṭhita of Ságara on the way to Lanká. Sudhana was again disappointed. He was directed to proceed to Vajapura, a city of Draviḍa, to receive instructions from a Drávidian named Megha. Megha professed his ignorance of Bodhi knowledge.

"By his advice Sudhana repaired to Sáradhvaja at Milanapuraṇa, the land's end of Jambudvípa; thence to the Bhikshuṇi Áśá, the wife of Suprabha of Samudravelatí to the east of Maháprabhu; thence to Bhishmottarasanghesha of Nalapúra; thence to Jayashínáyatana in the country of Iśasha; thence to Maitráyaní, the daughter of Siñhaketu, at the city of Siñhavijrimbhita; thence to Sudarśana of Trinánjana; thence to a boy named Indriyaśvara of the city of Sumukha in the country called Śramaṇa Maṇḍala; thence to the Upásika Prabhúta of Samudraprasthána; thence to the patriarch Vidvan of Mahásambhava; thence to the banker Ratnachúḍa of Siñhapotí; thence to Samantanetra, a manufacturer of perfumery, at the city of Samantamukha in Múlaka; thence to Nala of Náladhvaja; thence to the king Maháprabha of

Suprabha; thence to the Upáśiká Achalasthirá; thence to Sarvagráma of Toshala in Mitatoshala; thence to Utpalabhúti in Prithuráshṭra; thence to the slave Paisa of Kulágára; thence to the banker Jayottama of Nánuhara; thence to the Bhikshuṇí Siñhavyasambhitá of Kalingavana in Śroṇapasanta; thence to Bhagavatí Sumitrá of Ratnabhijjiha in Durga; thence to the patriarch Vesṭhila of Subhapárangama; thence to the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara of Poṭalaka; thence to Ananyagámi of Pashatmaṇḍala, and finally to Mahádeva of Dváravatí. All the places mentioned above belong to the region called Dakshiṇápatha or southern India.

"Leaving Dekkan in the south, Sudhana directed his steps by the advice of Mahádeva towards Magadha. In that country he paid his devotion to eight Rátridevatás, or goddesses of night. These had different names; and dwelt in different localities, two of which Kapilavastu and Bidhimaṇda (*sic*) are well known in the history of the Buddhist religion.

"But none could afford full satisfaction to Sudhana, and he remained unpossessed of perfect knowledge. He then entreated Gopá, the wife, and Máyá the mother, of the great Buddha for instruction, and here he was partially successful. They recommended him to Surendrábhá at the house of Indra, and she, to a young teacher Viśvámitra of Kapilavastu. At every change of teacher, the amount of his knowledge increased, and with redoubled zeal he applied himself to the acquisition and perfection of knowledge. He received several valuable lectures from the patriarch Surendra and the goldsmith Muktasára of Varukutcha, from a Bráhman Sivirátra of Dharmagráma in Dekkan, from a boy Śrísambhava, and a girl Śrímatí of Sumukha. From Sumukha he travelled to Samudrakatíha where Maitreya told him plainly that none but Manjuśrí himself would be able to make his knowledge perfect. Thus after passing through a hundred austerities he went back to Manjuśrí, who was living in the vicinity of Sumaná. Sudhana, by the favor of Manjuśrí at last obtained full and perfect knowledge from the holy Samantabhadra."

So far this list of contents. First I must call attention to the fact that in two points it somewhat differs from what Hodgson tells us about the Gaṇḍavyūha. To begin with he mentions Çākya as the speaker in this text; this point is not of much importance and will probably be explained by the text really beginning with the Buddha himself speaking and the rest of the tale being considered his own words. But the second point of difference is very important when the text is being consulted iconographically: it is that Hodgson speaks of sixty-four persons who become Sudhana's guru's, while Haraprasád Çástrí only gives

forty-seven. It therefore follows that this summary, at present the chief source of our information, is incomplete. We must keep this fact in mind when explaining the reliefs; not only do we know for certain that some seventeen of the guru's have been suppressed, but we may suppose that the same carelessness can have taken place in other respects as well and all sorts of episodes may have been left unrecorded. This will probably add great difficulties to our investigation.

The second summary of contents is as follows [1]):

"The Gaṇḍavyuha is a narrative work in which the disciples and followers of Śákya, in his presence, discourse on practical Buddhism. In the first chapter Manjuśrí explains to Sudhana-kumára the cardinal principles of Buddhism. In the second and the third Sudhana and Megha śrí discourse on the same topic, and on the descent of Bodhisattvas. The fourth is devoted to an exposition, by Supratishṭhita, a Bhikshu, of the manner in which Buddhist faith should be sought. In the fifth, the career of Buddha is expatiated upon by one Meghadraviḍa in reply to Sudhana. In the sixth, a Śreshṭhi or banker comes forward to solve the doubts and difficulties of Sudhana relating to certain points of faith. In the next, Sáradhaya expatiates on the glory of Buddha. A female mendicant of the name of Ává next explains how a Bodhisattva should study the Bodhi religion. Another mendicant of the same sex then explains the proper course of life for Bodhisattvas. In the ninth, a Ṛishi of the name of Bhíshmottara-nirghosha, in reply to Sudhana, explains the duties of Bodhisattvas. The discussion of the subject is continued in several of the succeeding sections, the interlocutors being successively a Bráhmaṇa named Jayoshmáyatana, a maiden of the name Maitráyáṇi, daughter of Maitráyana, one of the principal followers of Śákya, Sudarsana a Bhikshu, Prabhútá a nun, Vidusa a householder, and others. In Section 18, Sudhana expounds the subject to Nala, a king, whose kingdom is described at some length, and who is apparently the same with the hero of the Naishadha, and king of Berar, whose story finds so prominent a place in an episode of the Mahábhárata. In the next he goes to the town of Suprabhá, and converts to his faith its king, Maháprabha. He next goes to the house of Chhalá, a nun, from whose head issues a halo of brilliant light; and then goes in quest of an itinerant hermit (Parivrájaka) Sarvagámina by name, with whom he discourses on the maxim, mayámuttaráyai: "Nothing by me of the future" etc. From Sections 22 to 30 the topic of discussion between Sudhana and different hermits is, "How should the Bodhisattva knowledge be taught

[1]) Introduction to the Lalita Vistara (1877), p. 8—10.

by a Bodhisattva". (Kathañ bodhisattvena bodhisattvacharyán śikshayitavyam.) The subject of the 31st is an interview of Sudhana with a goddess named Varā, who shows him many jewels of rare value. In the next Vásantí, a goddess, replies to his query "Show me the way to omniscience, by which the Bodhisattvas attain their tenfold powers on earth." Other recondite questions of this character follow through twenty successive sections, in which Sudhana either instructs, or is instructed, by some monk, or nun, or god, or goddess in the mysteries of the Buddhist religion. The work is of considerable antiquity, and is, I believe, the same with the Ghanavyúha [1]), which was translated into Chinese under the name of Ta-shing-mi-yen-king by Amoghavajra of the Tang dynasty in 907—960 of the Christian era."

This second summary, scanty as it is, still adds something serviceable to the first. The variation in the names is of slight importance; the same person is evidently meant in the following names: Sāradhaya and Sāradhvaja, Āvā and Āçā; Bhiṣmottaranirghoṣa and Bhiṣmottarasangheṣa; Jayoṣmāyatana and Jayaṣīnāyatana; Chalā and Acalasthirā; Sarvagāmina and Sarvagrāma; also it may be noted that in one case Maitrāyana and in the other Siṃhaketu is the name of the father of Maitrāyanī. More important it is that various persons who in the more extensive summary are only just mentioned by name, are specified in the shorter one; so we find out here that Supratiṣṭhita and Sudarçana are bhikṣu's; Bhiṣmottaranirghoṣa is a ṛṣi; Jayoṣmāyatana a brahman; Nala the king of that name; and Sarvagāmina a parivrājaka. We also find that the shorter review calls a bhikṣuṇī "female mendicant" and an upāsikā "nun"; this deserves attention, because if bhikṣuṇī is translated it must of course be "nun", and the upāsikā on the contrary is a "laysister" not a nun [2]). Actual differences are that in the shorter summary 1° a çreṣṭhin appears between Megha and Sāradhvaja; 2° after Āvā a second "female mendicant" comes in; 3° the male upāsaka Prabhūta is a nun called Prabhūtā. It does not matter, I think, that the householder Vidusa takes the place of the patriarch Vidvan, for householder and patriarch are both meant as head of the household. It is not to be decided if the goddesses Varā and Vāsantī must be included among the additions, as it is quite possible that in the more extensive review they may be among the Rātridevatā's who are not mentioned by name.

The variations here enumerated from both reviews are serious enough to justify the supposition that these two summaries have been

[1]) See the article quoted, in note 6 on p. 2.

[2]) This is already noticed by Burnouf, Introduction p. 279—282.

compiled from different versions of the Gaṇḍavyūha, the compilers each having consulted a different manuscript. As far as we know, I think such an explanation can not be accepted, however tempting it is, for both writers could not have had anything else in their hands than the manuscript presented by Hodgson to the Asiatic Society of Bengal and preserved at Calcutta [1].

We shall have to consider that one, or both of them perhaps, executed his task carelessly. There may easily be still more inaccuracies in one or both of the summaries than those that have come to light by comparing our scanty data; and besides we have no means at all of judging which of the two reviews of the contents is the most trustworthy or the least unreliable. It is but a weak foundation we have for the explanation of these reliefs. When the text there followed seems to differ from what we know of the reviews, this can be ascribed first of all to the incompleteness of even the more extensive summary as noted above, but it can quite as well be the result of inaccurate rendering of the text in these summaries. Then there is of course the chance that the text used on the monument was another version of the Gaṇḍavyūha than the manuscript in Calcutta. Even if we could be sure that Rájendralála Mitra and Haraprasád Çástrí used the same manuscript, is it not possible that the manuscripts at Cambridge and Paris may disclose other points of difference? It is at present impossible for us to investigate if one of these manuscripts might be the text used on the monument or if it even had a version of its own. [2]

This must not keep us from endeavouring to dig up the truth and perhaps discovering the direction for further examination. Wherever differences appear, they will probably be found in the accessory and less important episodes of the story, while the chief points and events will generally remain the same and recur in various differing versions of the text: they will not run so much risk of being overlooked or bungled. Setting to work in this way, I shall take three of the most prominent scenes in the text at the beginning, end and middle, and try to identify them on the reliefs and then arrange the intervening events as correctly as possible.

Let us first look at no. 16. In the centre we see the Bodhisattva Mañjuçrī, already recognised as such for some time; his identity is indisputable, for he has his usual distinctive attribute, the book in kropak-form

[1] Among the manuscripts of the Hodgson Collection at Calcutta there is only one of the Gaṇḍavyūha. See Kunja Vihari Kávyatírtha's Catalogue of printed books and manuscripts in Sanskrit, belonging to the Oriental Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1904) p. 245

[2] It may be remembered that this work was written during the war.

on the blue lotus, the stalk of which he holds in the left hand. Judging by the gesture of the right hand he is preaching, and he turns towards a group of bhikṣu's seated attentively on his right under a tree (left on the relief). On the other side of the Bodhisattva stands a person in the dress of high rank, his head surrounded by a halo, accompanied by some attendants. The explanation of this scene is I think not difficult, it might be entitled: Mānjuçrī with his attendant bhikṣu's and Sudhana, in Māladhvajavyūha. The sculptor in his own way, has given a distinctive mark to Sudhana who here appears for the first time. We remember how it is related in the story that Sudhana's father becomes suddenly rich at the birth of his son; as a sign of this, against the pedestal on which the figure representing Sudhana stands, three moneybags are depicted. Now we turn to the last part of the story and see on relief no. 128 the Bodhisattva Maitreya, also correctly identified by the stūpa in his headdress. Among the numerous listeners sitting on both sides even nāga's and a garuḍa are present, but there is no one who is given such a prominent position as to be meant for Sudhana. Perhaps for the sake of the design in this final scene, it was decided to concentrate all attention on the being who is here considered to be expounding the Highest Wisdom and keep the comparatively less important seeker after that wisdom out of the limelight. Another reason for so doing may be the idea of throwing all the light on Maitreya, in order to make a fine transition to the following gallery that is devoted to this Bodhisattva. Where, up to the very last, the seeker after wisdom is everywhere given a chief place, I do not think it possible that this relief should drop out of the story and consider its meaning therefore to be: Maitreya at Samudrakatīha. If this is correct, then it will appear that the text, so far as it is represented on this gallery of the monument, is somewhat shorter than that of the summary, according to which at least two scenes ought to follow: i. e. Sudhana again with Mañjuçrī and Sudhana with Samantabhadra. It is of course just as possible that the sculptor had a shorter text ending with Maitreya as that for some reason — perhaps the transition to the third gallery — he did not think it suitable to put in the final scenes. A third possibility, viz. that the same text was continued on the third gallery, will be discussed in the next chapter.

Between the two reliefs just reviewed, we must look for the striking scenes of the visit to Avalokiteçvara and to Mahādeva. Indeed we find them and what is surprising, they are even twice represented. On relief no. 47, Sudhana is seated in front of Avalokiteçvara, plainly recognisable by the Amitābha image in his headdress and by his usual red lotus; on

relief no. 48 Sudhana sits opposite a Çiva Mahādeva, also certainly identified by the Nandi under the throne; the back arms of the four-handed god hold his well known rosary and fly-whisk. Some fifty reliefs further on we see Avalokiteçvara appear again on no. 100—102, always wearing the Amitābha-headdress and the red lotus, the latter combined with other attributes of this Bodhisattva. Then on no. 104 Mahādeva comes again, attended by Nandi, with rosary and fly-whisk, while his trident can be seen beside him as well. In neither of the two cases, either 47—48 or 100—104, can there be any doubt about the identification. It remains for us to settle the question, apart from the explanation of this repetition of the visits to Avalokiteçvara and Mahādeva, on which of these two places the episodes *related in the text* are represented.

For two reasons I think the choice must rest on the second series. Avalokiteçvara of Potalaka is the lord of a far-famed and much-honoured sanctuary that is frequently mentioned in Buddhist literature. And all accounts agree that the god lived on a mountain in the forest, such as the miniatures reproduced by Foucher in his Iconographie bouddhique, shew us; they represent the god seated in a rock-temple surrounded by trees [1]). Now relief no. 47 gives no sign of different surroundings, but we find on no. 100 the Bodhisattva in the midst of the traditional mountain scenery: the usual rocks in outline and, above, the trees with various wild creatures here and there. The second reason is that whereas the text makes Sudhana visit an ordinary human being between his visits to the divine Avalokiteçvara and Mahādeva, on no. 47 and 48 these two appear consecutively, while in the second series they are actually separated by relief no. 103, where Sudhana is conversing with another person. For these reasons I am of opinion that reliefs 100—102 should be identified as: Sudhana with Avalokiteçvara of Potalaka; no. 104 as Sudhana with Mahādeva of Dvāravatī, and as the result of this, no. 103 in agreement with the text as: Sudhana with Ananyagāmin of Paṣatmaṇḍala.

Let us now go back for a few reliefs to no. 90 and find there too something reliable (i. e. as far as our data reach), as Sudhana is being taught wisdom by a bhikṣuṇī, easily recognised by her shorn head and nun's garment with the hem hanging over her right shoulder. Behind the pavilion in which this figure is seated, stands a second bhikṣuṇī and there

[1]) See I.I. I (1900) p. 109, 178, 203, 212; to the literature quoted in the first place, may now be added Waddell, Lhasa (1905) p. 304 and 388 and the article Avalokiteçvara by De la Vallée Poussin in the Encycl. of Religion and Ethics II (1909) p. 259. This last looks for the sanctuary East of the Malay Mountains, while Foucher places it in the Western Ghāts. Beal's opinion that it may have been in Ceylon (see for inst. Buddhism in China, 1884 p. 120—123) has rightly found no adherents.

are some women sitting who wear worldly dress. As there is only one bhikṣuṇī scene to be found in the second half of the reliefs and the text in this part of the tale only mentions one bhikṣuṇī, relief no. 90 must be Sudhana's visit to the bhikṣuṇī Siṃhavyasambhitā of Kalingavana in Çroṇapasanta. It may not be going too far if we consider the small lions under her seat as an allusion to her name put in by the sculptor.

If the above is correct, then it follows of course that also relief no. 99 can be identified. Between the bhikṣuṇī above mentioned and Avalokiteçvara, in the text Sudhana visits two more persons, a man and a woman. Among all the intervening reliefs there is only one in which Sudhana is talking to a man and that is immediately preceding the Avalokiteçvara relief. We must therefore conclude that no. 99 represents the visit of Sudhana to the 'patriarch' Veṣṭhila of Subhapārangama. Then, between the bhikṣuṇī and Veṣṭhila the arrival of Sudhana at Bhagavatī Sumitrā's ought to be found. On three of the reliefs that must here be examined, we find Sudhana in conversation with a woman, no. 91, 92 and 95. The least suitable is no. 95 that is found in the middle of a part of the tale, of which the chief incidents do not appear in our review of the text and where among other things an appearance of the Buddha and a stūpa worship are to be seen.

Nos. 91 and 92 remain. Without placing too much value on the selection, I consider that no. 91 must shew the visit in question, not only because the conversation with Sumitrā is then the very next in the text to that with the bhikṣuṇī, so that then the episode unknown to us would begin with 92 and end with 98, but also because the female figure on 91 has a halo and the one on 92 has not, while a Bhagavatī has a right to that attribute. I think therefore that relief no. 91 can be picked out as representing Sudhana's visit to Bhagavatī Sumitrā of Ratnabhijjiha in Durga.

We will now turn to the part of the tale that comes between the appearance of Mahādeva and that of Maitreya, between reliefs 104 and 128. After his departure from Dakṣiṇāpatha, Sudhana, according to the summary of contents, goes to pay homage to eight Rātridevatā's who, as expressly stated, lived in different places, so that we must not expect to find the eight goddesses on one relief but probably may see a row of eight different visits. The reliefs do not disappoint us this time. On eight consecutive scenes, no 105—112, we find Sudhana conversing with a female figure. The sculptor, to avoid monotony, is obliged to bring some variety into the receptions; so we see the ladies in or in front of pavilions of different sorts and Sudhana is sometimes seated, sometimes standing;

and besides, the attendants of both chief persons are varied a little. But the lady is always seated and placed higher than Sudhana, who is everywhere respectful in his attitude and in the scenes where he is seated, does her homage with a sĕmbah, except once where he is holding something in his hand. Nowhere is there any sign of equality in the interview, such as we find in several other scenes; it is plain that these are no ordinary women but beings of a higher sort and as the text tells us, goddesses. Reliefs no. 105—112 are to be entitled: visits of Sudhana to the eight Rātridevatā's in Magadha.

The following visit according to the text is also to a woman; the three next reliefs are therefore not eligible, for they shew respectively, a fight next to a seated Buddha, the arrival at a building and a conversation with a man. On no. 116 and 117 we find again women who are instructing Sudhana and on the authority of the text these might be entitled: no. 116 Sudhana with Gopā, and no. 117, Sudhana with Māyā. But as no. 117 represents two women seated in a pavilion, it is very probable that this relief gives Sudhana's visit to Buddha's wife and mother together — in the text-summary it is not plainly shewn whether these two received Sudhana alone or together — in which case no. 116 would belong to the piece of text that is unknown to us from 113—115. The reliefs give no further indication of who these ladies are; but as the words in the summary: "they recommended" etc. seem to allude to a joint advice-giving, I shall for the present keep to the latter supposition and call no. 117 visit of Sudhana to Gopā and Māyā, the wife and mother of Buddha.

From here the hero moves on to Surendrābhā, also a woman, so that reliefs no. 118 and 119, both conversations with men, can be passed over. Beginning with no. 120 the text and reliefs seem to be quite in agreement again. No. 120, where Sudhana is talking to a woman, will then be his visit to Surendrābhā, "in the house of Indra" the summary says, without telling us if the god Indra or someone else is meant. The expression "house" makes us think it will not be the god and the relief shews nothing that indicates heaven.

After receiving instruction from three more men, Sudhana comes to the brahman Sivirātra. Quite in agreement with this, the reliefs first give three scenes of conversation with a man and then one with a brahman, depicted in the usual way and at once recognisable as such. On the authority of the text these reliefs can be entitled as follows: no. 121 visit of Sudhana to Viçvāmitra of Kapilavastu; no. 122, to the "patriarch" Surendra; no. 123, to the goldsmith Muktasāra of Varukuccha — unfortunately the relief gives nothing to shew he is a goldsmith — and no.

124 to the brahman Sivirātra of Dharmagrāma. The next relief too is easily identified. Sudhana here comes to a double pavilion in which two evidently quite young persons, male and female, are sitting. These are certainly the youth Çrīsambhava and the girl Çrīmatī of Sumukha, mentioned in the text between the brahman and Maitreya. No more conversations appear, but the two reliefs no. 126 and 127 shew the worshipping of a building, the first very distinctly by one chief person, in this instance Sudhana; in the second it is more a group of people. The latter building has its roof decorated with Maitreya's emblem, the stūpa, thereby connecting itself with the last relief of this series no. 128, on which we have already seen that Bodhisattva being worshipped. It will I suppose represent the sanctuary wherein the events of no. 128 are to take place, so that no. 127 can be entitled: arrival at Samudrakatīha.

If we now sum up the results achieved, we see that with more or less certainty, reliefs 90—128, so far as we can learn from the summary of the contents, represent the second half of the text in the following manner:

90. Sudhana visits the bhikṣuṇī Siṃhavyasambhitā of Kalingavana at Çroṇapasanta.
91. he visits Bhagavatī Sumitrā of Ratnabhijjiha at Durga.
99. the patriarch Veṣṭhila of Subhapārangama.
100—102. Avalokiteçvara of Potalaka.
103. Ananyagāmin of Paṣatmaṇḍala.
104. Mahādeva of Dvāravatī.
105—112. the eight Rātridevatā's of Magadha.
117. Gopā and Māyā, wife and mother of Buddha.
120. Surendrābhā in the house of Indra.
121. Viçvāmitra of Kapilavastu.
122. the patriarch Surendra.
123. the goldsmith Muktasāra of Varukuccha.
124. the brahman Sivirātra of Dharmagrāma.
125. the boy Çrīsambhava and the girl Çrīmatī of Sumukha.
127. his arrival at Samudrakatīha.
128. there he receives instruction from Maitreya.

Before going back to the first part of the tale let us for a moment consider the fact we discovered that one of the chief episodes in the text, the visit to Avalokiteçvara, followed by that to Mahādeva, is represented twice. This in my opinion, makes it very probable that the Gaṇḍavyūha text Haraprasād Çāstrī made an abstract of, must have differed from that used by the sculptor; because when slight differences might be

ascribed to the carelessness of the writer of the summary, this should not be done too easily in the case of important and conspicuous incidents such as the visit to the Bodhisattva Avalokiteçvara and the god Mahādeva certainly are. Therefore if we accept the text followed on the monument to have been a different one to the one known to us, then on the other hand it is remarkable how very much the episode inserted in the more extensive text, resembles the one already found in the shorter version. It is surely not accidental that in both cases the visit to Mahādeva directly follows on that to Avalokiteçvara, on the contrary, it looks as if we here have to do with a repetition, the counter part of an episode already given in the shorter text; it is certainly slightly altered (an ordinary building put in place of the forest-scenery, and Ananyagāmin omitted) but in its principal features the prototype of the new insertion is plainly to be recognised. If we here actually have a counterpart before us — which I think very probable — then we might inquire if this may spread further than the very striking scenes just mentioned. Relief no. 104 with the Mahādeva of Dvāravatī is followed by eight reliefs on which Sudhana is conversing with a woman, which we decided to recognise as the visits to the Rātridevatā's; if we now notice that the Mahādeva of no. 48 is followed by a series of five visits to women, then naturally it is quite possible that reliefs no. 49 to 53 are a repetition of the Rātridevatā-episodes, even if they have been reduced to five scenes. The same argument could be applied to what precedes the Avalokiteçvara reliefs; two reliefs before, we find, as seen above, on no. 98 a stūpa-worship and two reliefs before the Avalokiteçvara on no. 47, a stūpa-worship on no. 45 as well. Some variety is introduced by the patriarch on no. 99 not being replaced with the same kind of visit, but instead, on no. 46 is a scene where Sudhana continues his journey, this time in a carriage. We shall see that the repetition probably begins a couple of reliefs earlier; for the present let us put reliefs no. 45 to 53 aside while we are examining the representation of the shorter text.

Next comes another group that can be dismissed for the present because what it represents, we see at the first glance is not given in our summary of the text. I mean the part beginning with relief no. 73. On this relief we see nine men, the first holding a lotus; they are preceded by two women, and not walking on the ground but on the usual style of outlined clouds. No. 74 shews a lotus pond with five lotuses growing out of it; on the largest in the centre, a Buddha is seated, on the four others persons in full dress, probably Bodhisattva's. On no. 75 the same Buddha sits in the same way on a lotus cushion rising out of a pond, being worship-

ped by an eminent man with several women, and worship by women is also the subject of no. 76, where the Buddha is standing and the pond has not yet been carved on the smoóth stones evidently meant for it, at the bottom. A very similar adoration of a standing Buddha by women appears again on no. 78; the intervening no. 77 as well as no. 79 and 80, shews a woman with a halo and large retinue, as we may suppose a goddess or Tārā, in converse with a man, probably Sudhana. On no. 81 once more a Buddha worship; he is sitting again in the middle and the other figures are all men, on the left most likely Sudhana with attendants, on the right some bhikṣu's. We find that this part too, no. 73—81, is not included in the text known to us.

Seeing that we have found the beginning of Sudhana's journeys in relief no. 16, it seems to follow that we must look for the representation of the first part of the Sudhana story in the three groups of reliefs 17—44, 52—72, and 82—89. It is theoretically of course equally possible that we may encounter the visits we know of all consecutively, as divided in these three groups and interrupted by other episodes.

If we start our search believing both reviews of the contents to be correct, that is to say relying on the qualifications given in the shorter summary of what are only names in the longer one, then I may as well state at once that no agreement is to be found, in the course of the tale in the text constructed in this manner, with what is represented on the reliefs. In order to demonstrate this we must of course keep to those figures mentioned in the text whose identity is beyond dispute, for instance bhikṣu's and bhikṣuṇī's, brahmans, ṛṣi's etc. We then find, appearing as such in the text, consecutively: a bhikṣu (Supratiṣṭhita), then after an interval of two (or three) others, a bhikṣuṇī (Āçā), another bhikṣuṇī, a ṛṣi (Bhīṣmottarasangheṣa), a brahman (Jayaṣīnāyatana) and with a woman between, again a bhikṣu (Sudarçana). Now we see that on the reliefs these persons do not appear in the same sequence, neither immediately after each other, nor with intervening other kind of scenes. The text the sculptor used has here not been the same as that of Rájendralála Mitra; portions must have been left out or altered besides what was added, and if this is established it remains an extremely uncertain and thankless task, seeing the few indications afforded by the reliefs themselves about the nature of the persons there represented, to attempt any identification of what may be left on the reliefs of the text known to us.

To begin with the bhikṣuṇī. There is only one relief (except no. 90 above identified) that represents such a person, and that is no. 43. Even here it might be doubtful, for the relief is much damaged and the front

of the figure in question has been knocked off, so that all we see clearly is only that this person wore a clerical dress; though the sex may not be very distinct in the photograph, on the monument I think it is quite plain. This is actually proved too by the persons sitting behind as attendants, two in ecclesiastic and one in worldly dress. One of the first shews nothing but a head, but the two other figures are undoubtedly female. As they would be entirely out of place as attendants on a bhikṣu, the chief person must be a bhikṣuṇī. In the text a bhikṣuṇī is mentioned by name, Āçā of Samudravelatī, after whom according to the shorter summary a second bhikṣuṇī comes in to be replaced by a ṛṣi etc. (see above), then one bhikṣu more appears in the story. On the reliefs it is quite otherwise; the bhikṣuṇī we have seen, is on relief no. 43 and is followed by a scene with an ordinary man and then comes the above-mentioned stūpa-worship and the Avalokiteçvara-Mahādeva-reliefs; there is no sign of a ṛṣi or a brahman in this part and as for a bhikṣu who ought then to follow, such a person appears for the last as an individual figure (i.e. not as subordinate person in a worship episode) on no. 26. If no. 43 is meant really for Āçā, then she is in quite another place than where she belongs in the text and the second bhikṣuṇī is missing altogether, for when the sculptor so conscientiously depicts each interview on a separate relief (think of the eight Rātridevatā's), we cannot suppose that the bhikṣuṇī following Āçā, not mentioned by name, would be pushed into one of the two figures sitting behind Āçā on relief no. 43. Therefore either Sudhana's interview with Āçā is quite in the wrong place or else no. 43 does not represent Āçā at all. In the latter case, seeing there is no other bhikṣuṇī-relief, Āçā may have been left out of the story altogether or she may be here not as nun but like an ordinary woman. How then are we to account for no. 43 if it does not represent Āçā? The nearness of no. 45 and following group of reliefs, recognised as repetitions here above, rouses a suspicion that perhaps no. 43 may belong to the same episode repeated with variations and is nothing more than the counterpart of the bhikṣuṇī on relief no. 90. If this is actually so — which we can in no way prove or shall attempt to — then naturally no. 44, Sudhana's interview with a man, must be part of this episode that would begin with no. 42, Sudhana continuing his travels now in a palanquin.

Just as stated about the bhikṣuṇī relief, that because there is but one of the kind, it either does not represent the Āçā mentioned in the text, or that it has been put into another place than it belonged to according to the text, exactly the same is the case of the relief with the brahman. In this part of the text only one brahman appears and that is Jayaṣīnāya-

tana; there is only one relief (except the already identified no. 124) that shews a brahman, viz. no. 70. Brahmans are everywhere so distinctly depicted and in a way that belongs only to them, that mistake is impossible. According to the text, the conversation with the brahman is preceded by one with a ṛṣi and before that with a bhikṣuṇī, while after the brahman, a woman and then a bhikṣu must follow. The relief we are discussing is no. 70; the bhikṣuṇī is separated from this by 26 scenes, no bhikṣu appears at all after this and no ṛṣi is to be found in the vicinity. Here too our only conclusion can be: either relief no. 70 gives the interview between Sudhana and Jayaśīnayātana and it stands in quite a different place, with quite different neighbours than the text we have suggests, or it represents something else for which the text has no explanation. In neither case do we gain anything for the comparison of the Gaṇḍavyūha-text with the reliefs.

Both the cases shew us how little certainty is to be had in comparing text and reliefs. While I shall endeavour in the following argument to explain the course of the story on the monument by the summaries of contents, I do so without any intention of offering the result as facts that are proved, but only to suggest some possibility of explanation, a possibility that will have to be compared with the text itself if the version in question exists, or ever comes to light.

We begin our further investigation at the last relief with bhikṣu's. The last person, who according to the text was a bhikṣu, is Sudarçana of Trināñjana; and the last relief on which a bhikṣu plays a chief part is, we found, no. 26. We must therefore again, in accordance with the above reasoning, if the sequence of the text is not entirely broken, accept this relief no. 26 to be the visit to Sudarçana. But whereas in the two cases already discussed their position proved that if the bhikṣuṇī or brahman-relief depicted the persons indicated by the text, the sequence of the text would have to be altered, the case of no. 26 is not so difficult. Let us glance at the preceding reliefs. On no. 25 Sudhana stands before a woman and according to the text before his visit to Sudarçana he went to Maitrāyaṇī, the daughter of Siṃhaketu at Siṃhavijrimbhita. The brahman should appear before Maitrāyaṇī, but as we have seen he was not there, he must have disappeared or been moved to no. 70. Yet the person preceding him, the ṛṣi Bhīṣmottarasangheṣa of Nalapura, is here just in the place where we should expect to find him. On relief no. 24, seated on a rock among some trees in front of Sudhana, also seated, is a person who in my opinions must certainly be a ṛṣi. His beard and moustache, but only that, are somewhat like a brahman. As for his clothing it is nothing

more than a loincloth, while a brahman is always decently dressed and can be recognised by the never-failing upavīta, which the person on this relief is not wearing. The hair-dressing too is quite different, not at all like the elaborate coiffure of the brahman on no. 70 and no. 124, first brushed back smoothly and then twisted into a knot at the back of the head, but this is a big mass of hair on top of the head fastened round with a band, while loose locks hang out from it on all sides. This can be nothing else but a ṛṣi and I shall not hesitate to identify no. 24 as Sudhana's visit to Bhīṣmottarasangheça.

One relief further back, we find on no. 23 again Sudhana conversing with a lady. According to the text, here we ought to find the two bhikṣuṇī's, Āçā and the nameless one already mentioned above. The chief figure on no. 23 is certainly not a bhikṣuṇī; should we call her Āçā, then it must be understood that she is not depicted as bhikṣuṇī but merely as the wife of Suprabha of Samudravelatī. The question of course cannot be decided. But it is surely remarkable that the six reliefs before this woman appears, correspond in number and description to those persons whose qualifications have been given. Going back, according to the text we must expect to find: 1. Sāradhvaja, 2. The çreṣṭhin, omitted by Haraprasád Çástrí and mentioned only by Rájendralála Mitra, 3. the Draviḍa Megha, 4. the bhikṣu Supratiṣṭhita, 5. Sāgaramegha, and 6. Meghaçrī. Indeed on the monument we find between the last-mentioned relief no. 23 and the identified Mañjuçrī-relief no. 16. just exactly six reliefs too, on the second of which the chief figure is wearing worldly dress and may very well be a creṣṭhin, while the fourth is actually a bhikṣu. Then we see that no. 1, 5 and 6 (still going back) as well represent bhikṣu's which is not contradicted by the textsummary, though it is not clear why the writer of the shorter summary mentions their qualification only in the case of Supratiṣṭhita. There seems to be only one objection to reckoning these six reliefs in the same sequence as the text, and examined closely, it is only a slight one. On relief no. 19 it looks as if the person doing homage to the bhikṣu is a woman and in that case it can not represent the conversation in the text of the bhikṣu with Sudhana. However I am convinced that the shadows in the photograph are deceptive, for not only the headdress of the figure in question is masculine in fashion but the male attendants shew that this is a man, and therefore Sudhana. In my opinion there is nothing to prevent these six reliefs being entitled thus: no. 17 visit of Sudhana to Meghaçrī on Mt. Sugrīva in Rāmavarta; no. 18 to Sāgaramegha of Sāgaramukha; no. 19 to the bhikṣu Supratiṣṭhita of Sāgara; no. 20 to Megha of Vajapura; no. 21 to the creṣṭhin; no. 22 to Sāradhvaja of Milanapura.

Asiatic Society, Calcu

We will now return to our startingpoint, the Sudarçana-relief no. 26, and fix our attention on the scenes that follow it. Sudhana in the text goes first to the youth Indriyeçvara and now we see him sitting on no. 27 in front of a man, who we notice at once has the crescent behind his head. This attribute we find so often given to youthful figures, and is here so very appropriate, that no. 27 can safely be considered to represent Sudhana's visit to Indriyeçvara of Sumukha in the land of Çramaṇa Maṇḍala.

No. 28 gives us the peculiar difficulty that our two reviews of the text contradict each other and we cannot be sure whether, as noticed above, we might expect an upāsaka Prabhūta or a "nun" Prabhūtā. First something about the word "nun". A bhikṣuṇī cannot be meant, for a bhikṣuṇī is called by Rájendralála Mitra "female mendicant", but evidently an upāsikā is intended, to judge by the title of the male Prabhūta; this supposition is strengthened by the fact that as we saw, Haraprasád Çástrí's "upásiká Achalasthirá" is the same person as Mitra's "Chhalá, a nun". In this case the last word is surely wrong, for this lady is not a regular nun but a follower of Buddha who has remained in the world, here best expressed by lay-sister or something similar. This is iconographically important, because a real nun can of course be recognised by her dress, while a lay-sister wears the ordinary woman's costume. In the case of Prabhūta, it will mean that we must find here not a bhikṣu or bhikṣuṇī, no monk or nun, but an ordinary man or woman. If the female title in the text is correct, then relief no. 28 where Sudhana is conversing with a person in ordinary female dress, can be identified as his visit to the lay-sister Prabhūtā of Samudraprasthāna. If the text speaks of a man, then we can make no further use of no. 28 and must accept that it represents something that does not appear in our reviews of the text. We shall discover further on that in connection with the reliefs following, the first idea is the most probable.

The next reliefs no. 29—37 must first be examined together. Three of them, in comparing the text, must be passed over. First no. 34 that only represents Sudhana journeying, this time on foot. Then the two reliefs 31 and 32. On the first two men in full dress, each with a halo and umbrella above the head, and holding each other by the hand, are coming towards a building, where four women are sitting together. On the second we see a Buddha standing, with three persons standing on one side of him and several kneeling on the other. These two reliefs on being compared with the text, apparently represent some episode not there mentioned. There are six reliefs left, on each of which Sudhana is conversing

with a man. On consulting the text we find that in this part he visits five male persons. Two things are possible: either relief no. 28 is rightly assigned to Prabhūtā, in which case one of the six following reliefs for which we have only five persons must remain unexplained, or Prabhūta is a man and then we find him with the five others on these six reliefs, but have to leave no. 28, the woman figure, unaccounted for. In case the sequence of the text has actually been followed in these reliefs, we can find some indication to guide our choice between the two possibilities. The two last persons visited by Sudhana in the text, are kings and we may hope that they are depicted with some signs of royalty about them, not like ordinary mortals. There is not much difference, but there are two consecutive reliefs that shew something like a king. No. 35 because in front of the pavilion where the conversation is taking place, an armed guard is sitting and no. 36 not only because the building is decorated with cakra emblems, but also because of the female attendants in such numbers as becomes a monarch. If we judge by these signs then it follows that if no. 35 and 36 give us kings, no. 37 is the relief that must remain unexplained. The five others would be, always of course taking the sequence of the text-summary: 29, visit of Sudhana to the "patriarch" Vidvan of Mahāsambhava; 30 to the banker Ratnacūḍa of Siṃhapotī; 33 the perfume distiller Samantanetra of Samantamukha in Mūlaka; 35 king Nala of Nāladhvaja; 36 king Mahāprabha of Suprabha. In this way we see there is no chance of leaving the first number open to a male Prabhūta and the probability of no. 28 being a female Prabhūtā gains ground.

On relief no. 38 we now find Sudhana again in conversation with a woman, who may quite well be the lay-sister Acalasthirā now following in the text. And then comes no. 39 with a picture that may give something more definite and shews that the tale followed on the monument evidently does not differ so entirely from what is known to us from the reviews of the text. The next person visited in the text is Sarvagrāma of whom the short summary gives the important definition "itinerant hermit (Parivrājaka)". It will not be a mere chance that relief no. 39 gives just such a person. The scene is a forest with the usual rocks, birds and other animals. The right hand side is taken up by Sudhana with attendants and in front of him sits a person who though rather damaged, still shews distinct signs of his quality. He is something between a brahman and an ordinary hermit and reminds us as well of his modern successors the fakir's who are also to be seen wandering about with long beards and a huge mass of hair tied up on top of their heads. His water-

jug and staff are beside him and behind in a cleft in the rock sits a pupil or follower with his hair done up in the same fashion and a rosary in the hand. I think we can recognise this relief, entirely in accordance with the text, as Sudhana's visit to the parivrājaka Sarvagrāmin of Tosala in Amitatosala[1]). On no. 40 Sudhana is sitting next to an ordinary man who according to our review of the text must be Utphalabhūti of Prithurāṣṭra. This relief has suffered badly, but the figures have remained distinct.

The first part of relief no. 41 is taken up by a ship, perhaps the vessel used for part of Sudhana's further travels. To the left of this we see a small plain building, the upper part of which forms a seat for two persons in conversation while the lower part is divided into two parts, in each of which three persons are sitting; judging by the style of the whole building, it is underground. There is no ornementation in the underground part and very little in the upperstorey. The two men conversing are seated, one, apparently Sudhana, on the ground and the other only on a mat; there is nothing like a seat. Therefore I think, although the otherwise not richly-dressed man wears a tiara, we have reason enough to call a person in such a dwelling the slave Paisa. As for the six men under the floor, they may have been placed there for want of space and are the attendants of the two chief figures, but the entire absence of decoration is still unusual and perhaps these apartments are meant to shew where the slaves are housed. Whatever surmises we may indulge in about what the text says nothing of, the persons seated on the upper floor can certainly be considered as Sudhana with the slave Paisa of Kulāgāra.

After the intervening travelling relief no. 42, we then come to no. 43, the above discussed bhikṣuṇī who may be Āçā moved out of her place, or it may be the beginning of the repetition. At any rate the regular course of the text-summary known to us is here interrupted. Up to this we have been able, with reservations, to point out the following:

16. Sudhana with Mañjuçrī and the bhikṣu's at Māladhvajavyūha.
17. with Meghaçrī on the Sugrīva at Ramavarta.
18. Sāgaramegha of Sāgaramukha.
19. the bhikṣu Supratiṣṭhita of Sāgara.
20. Megha of Vajapura.
21. the çreṣṭhin.
22. Sāradhvaja of Milanapura.
23. (Āçā, not being a bhikṣuṇī?).

[1]) For the reading of the names otherwise than is given in the review, see Journ. Asiat. 1923 II, p. 7.

24. the ṛṣi Bhiṣmottarasangheça of Nalapura.
25. Maitrāyanī, daughter of Siṃhaketu of Siṃhavijrimbhita.
26. the bhikṣu Sudarçana of Trināñjana.
27. the youth Indriyeçvara of Sumukha in Çramaṇa Maṇḍala.
28. the upāsikā Prabhūtā of Samudraprasthāna.
29. the patriarch Vidvan of Mahāsambhava.
30. the banker Ratnacūḍa of Siṃhapoti.
33. the perfume-distiller Samantanetra of Samantamukha in Mūlaka.
35. king Nala of Nāladhvaja.
36. king Mahāprabha of Suprabha.
38. the upāsikā Acalasthirā.
39. the parivrājaka Sarvagrāmin of Tosala in Amitatosala.
40. Utphalabhūti of Prithurāṣṭra.
41. the slave Paisa of Kulāgāra.

In addition it may be the following are in a different place:

43. Sudhana with the bhikṣuṇī Āçā, wife of Suprabha of Samudravelatī.
70. with the brahman Jayaṣīnāyatana in Içaṣa.

All the same there is still one of Sudhana's conversations that has not been identified. I mean that which in the text follows immediately on the visit to Paisa, the conversation with the banker Jayottama, that could not be found directly after the Paisa visit. As we noticed, no. 42 gives a journey, 43 another bhikṣuṇī, thus it would not be impossible that no. 44 represents the visit to Jayottama. There is a second possibility. In the text Jayottama is followed by the bhikṣuṇī Siṃhavyasambhitā whom we identified with relief no. 90 and as no. 89 is a visit to a man, no. 89 might very well be the Jayottama one. Possibly the money-pot decorations on the roof of the pavilion are an indication that way. Theoretically we might look for this banker in other places between no. 41 and no. 90; it does not seem very likely that just this one relief should have slipped away so far from the first or perhaps from the second part of our tale, so that I prefer to select no. 44 or preferable no. 89 as Sudhana's visit to the banker Jayottama of Nānuhara. In short I think we can sum up the result achieved by judging the first part of Sudhana's wanderings from Mañjuçrī to Paisa the slave inclusive, to be found in reliefs no. 16—41 and the second part from Jayottama to Maitreya in reliefs 89—128, leaving undecided whether no. 43 and 70 contain anything more of the text.

I must again emphasize my statement that I certainly do not consider my examination entirely successful, especially in the first part, where it is

plain that alterations have been made without our being able to judge of their extent. It will be understood that I have not achieved this explanation without first searching for others or examining, if for instance in reliefs 53—73, the large piece between the so-called repetition and the Buddha-episode, something more from the text could be found. It is of little use to describe my useless experiments and explain the failure of certain reliefs to correspond with some episode in the text. To give one instance: the very plainly dressed person sitting on the ground in no. 55 might be the slave Paisa, but the surrounding reliefs are entirely different to the visits described in the text before and after Paisa. In the same way the surroundings destroy the possibility of the figure sitting in a crevice of the rock on no. 86 being Sarvagrāmin, even if we see no objection to his being rather fashionably dressed for a parivrājaka. In short, the only view with which text and reliefs agree taliter qualiter, is that given above.

The reliefs preceding the Mañjuçrī-scene no. 16 must not be forgotten. Nos. 1—13 have all much the same character which will be discussed later, but I now give them in short as: a Buddha preaching to a mixed audience; only on no. 2 the Buddha is not present but the audience is there, so that perhaps we might believe the Great Being has made himself invisible; all those present are sitting in a most devout attitude. After these twelve preaching scenes, on no. 14 comes the worship of a Bodhisattva who can be recognised by the branch with three round buds at the top of it, the same figure to whom nearly the whole of the chief wall on the fourth gallery is devoted and who I think can be identified as Samantabhadra [1]). No. 15 is in quite a different style, here we see a Buddha sitting on a lotus-cushion that rests on a stem and around him twelve persons in royal robes seated on similar cushions; they have haloes round their heads, evidently they are Bodhisattva's though without the usual emblems that distinguish them.

Although Samantabhadra would be quite appropriate at the beginning of the Gaṇḍavyūha where our review of the text distinctly mentions his presence, yet no. 15 is not to be accounted for. What we should expect, in accordance with the scene where Mañjuçrī appears, is some explanation of the way in which the Bodhisattva Raçmiprabha adorns the heaven with clouds, from which heavenly flowers and perfumes are falling. Clouds, it is true are to be found on most of the preceding reliefs, with heavenly beings rejoicing over the Buddha's preaching and we see flowers here and there used to fill in the open space above the pav-

[1]) See further in Chapt. VIII.

ilion in which the Buddha is seated. But homage to the Buddha with flowers we see so often being paid by heavenly beings that we wonder if this really refers to some actual episode in the text and whether this is not more likely some stereotyped style of decoration that belongs to preaching scenes. The only relief where the flowers may mean something more is no. 12; there they are falling as well at the side of the building where the Buddha is seated. But the perfumes are here omitted, nor do we see any special Bodhisattva brought to the front, and like on the other reliefs there is no indication of the building being about to expand into limitless space such as the text speaks of — it would be going too far to consider the secondary building on no. 11 as anything of that sort — any more than the decoration of precious stones. In fact possible clues to coincidence in the beginning of the text with reliefs 1 to 14 are very vague and unreliable and relief no. 15 is entirely unlike what the text tells us. We might think for instance that the presence of a garuḍa and nāga's on no. 11 has possibly some connection with the appearance of these creatures on no. 128, but neither at the beginning nor at the end of the textsummary are these figures mentioned, therefore we can have no idea of their meaning in the story.

What is more, the text gives us nothing to account for the fact that no less than twelve scenes are needed for what we may call the prologue to the Gaṇḍavyūha, before the tale of Sudhana's travels begins, all shewing the Buddha with his audience. Added to this, the lack of all distinct indication for some of the facts mentioned by the text and the entire divergence of no. 15, brings us to the conclusion that either the prologue of the Gaṇḍavyūha on the monument is quite a different one and more elaborate than that in our review of the text or that perhaps the prologue is not represented at all and reliefs 1—15 are intended for something else.

In my opinion the first conclusion is the most acceptable, at any rate until anything better appears; the same as with the Lalitavistara on the first gallery, we here have on the second a connected text which we can identify. Only at the beginning our version of the text is a different one to that the sculptors worked by. Still the question on the other side arises: what may these first reliefs represent in case they must not be ascribed to the prologue of the Gaṇḍavyūha? It is not difficult to find an answer to this question, though there is no guarantee for it being the right one. When selecting the sacred writings to be depicted on the monument, we can easily understand that the first choice would be those in the style of a story, being the most suitable for representation in scenes. But there would be others equally sacred and worthy to be

honoured, although contemplative or metaphysical in character. In what way could such a text, for instance, as the famous Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā be depicted? It relates how on a certain day the Buddha with a great number of followers sat on the Vulture-peak, where a discourse took place on more or less profound subjects; abstruse questions were asked and the answers given. To shew these questions and replies on a relief was of course impossible, so that to give an image of such a text could only be done by shewing the persons taking part in the discussion and in that way reminding the spectator of the subjects there dealt with. The same applies to several texts all beginning in the same manner; *if* they were to be represented, it could only be done in the same way as on reliefs 1—13.[1]) Let me say again that I am not trying in this way to make it seem probable that in cases where the sanctity of the text demanded representation it was really done in this way, in spite of its abstruse character, but such a way of treatment was possible and is quite worthy of consideration. Yet as above stated, considering everything, I prefer to regard these reliefs as belonging to the Gaṇḍavyūha-series.

We have now reviewed the whole chief-wall of the second gallery. The result we may sum up as follows: Reliefs 1—15 give the prologue to the Gaṇḍavyūha according to a version of the text not known to us. Reliefs 16—41 (or 44) follow the first part of Sudhana's adventures and the second part of them is found on reliefs 89 (or 90)—128. Between the two parts a third piece unknown to us is inserted, that begins with a repetition of a series of episodes from the second part (to 53) and that contains a Buddha episode (73—81). The incidents given in our text after the visit to Maitreya are not found on this gallery.

The reliefs not discussed here above, those between 54 and 89, are mostly of the same kind as those identified; visits of Sudhana to various persons. We can naturally conclude that there he is still pursuing his search after the Highest Wisdom. I will just call attention to three reliefs in this group because they shew some noticeable peculiarities that differ from the rest, and when the time comes, will surely assist their identification with some text version now inattainable.

First no. 57. Sudhana is evidently sitting in a park conversing with a lady behind whom are placed some large pots with jewels in them; next to these sits an armed guard with sword drawn and on the back of the lady's chair is a kinnarī. These jewels and the kinnarī who is the sign of

[1]) In connection with this we might remember the Mahāsamayasūtra, mentioned by Foucher, Lettre d'Ajaṇṭā, Journ. Asiat. 11 : 14 (1921) p. 227 with regard to such kind of scenes there represented.

heaven, makes this look like the goddess Varā who according to Mitra's summary of contents shewed Sudhana costly jewels (p. 5). Then no. 61 gives no conversation, but on the righthand is a man seated in a pavilion, and on the left an elephant with four sleeping guards; in the air are two hovering angels. Finally no. 68 is remarkable. Here we see a building inside a palissade; a man and woman are sitting inside it, with two attendants on the outside. In the air is a goddess evidently flying towards the couple in the building; this person is not like many other of the heavenly beings, only put in as decoration, but evidently takes part in the story. Outside the palissade are two more guards, asleep at the gate.

We will now go on to the description of the individual reliefs in this gallery.

1. *Buddha with his hearers*

The Buddha is seated on a lotus-cushion with his left hand on his knee and the right raised in vitarka-mudrā. The cushion is placed on a throne with small lions standing under it and a cloth hanging down in vertical folds. The back of the seat has on each side the well-known ornement, consisting of a half elephant, a rampant lion and a makara-head. The whole is framed in a building with a storied roof and corner pinnacles and crowned by a cushion-shaped top. The Buddha is seated in what looks like a large niche, arched at the top and covered with a kālamakara-ornement.

The audience is placed on both sides in three groups one above the other. The lowest kneeling on the ground are all in worldly dress; on the right four men, the front one in ceremonial costume with hands folded in sĕmbah holding a flower; on the left three women. Both top rows are heavenly beings on clouds; on the right, two of them female, the rest all men. Several carry the usual tokens of homage; it is noticeable that two are playing the vīṇā and that there are a couple of monochord instruments.

2. *The audience (of an invisible Buddha ?)*

I have already suggested the possibility that these evidently devout persons are listening to the Buddha who is present but by the power of his samādhi has become invisible, so as related in several tales, in which case we might remark that though his person disappears, his empty seat should have been depicted.

They sit in two rows, placed one above the other for want of space and perspective; they all turn towards the centre. Between the front ones in the upper row there is nothing, but below there is a vase of flowers

in the middle. They are all men; on the right in the middle, as well as above and below, some are bhikṣu's, the rest are laymen, of whom the eight in the top row are dressed like men of rank, not those in the bottom row, who wear lower tiara's, though this might be only for want of space. Several have a flower in the hand. A pĕndåpå-roof covers the whole with a cornice decorated with triçūla and pendant ornements.

3. *Buddha with his hearers*

The relief has suffered badly and is weatherworn, several of the faces have been knocked off and in the middle six blocks of stone are missing.

The Buddha sits on a lotuscushion that is laid on a pedestal, in front of which hangs a straight cloth. The hands are in the pose of dhyāna-mudrā. The shape of the niche is a trefoil and the roof is decorated at the sides and top with a stūpa-ornement. Along the upper edge of the relief are clouds with garlands hanging from them.

The audience are again arranged in two rows, one above the other, all turning to the centre and all men in worldly-dress, several of them holding the usual tokens of homage, among which an incenseburner with fan. Those sitting below on the right, are the most important persons. Notice the looped style of headdress like that of ascetics worn by the men above on the right and by one below on the left.

4. *Buddha with his hearers*

The Buddha is still seated on his lotuscushion. In front of the cloth that hangs below it a burning incense-stand is placed, with a rosette carved on each side of it. The left hand rests on his knee, the right is held up in vitarka-mudrā. The niche is a plain rectangular one with a wide vase used as decoration.

The listeners are placed on both sides in two rows, a standing and a sitting one. The persons seated on the right are three bhikṣu's; those standing are all in full-dress. The front sitting ones on both sides, have perfume-vases in their hands. On either side at the top are two heavenly beings doing homage.

5. *Buddha with his hearers*

The Buddha is sitting in the same attitude as on the last relief; the hanging cloth has three box-pleats folded in it and is ornemented with flowers. The niche is again rectangular with a vase-decoration on the roof. Along the top is a row of clouds with garlands hanging from them.

No angels are present, the audience is seated in two rows, one above the other. Below (except those on the extreme right) they are all monks, above are laymen in full-dress as well as some in the fashion of attendants wearing the looped headdress noticed above. In the bottom row we see bhikṣu's on the right and bhikṣuṇī's on the left, the front ones hold respectively, a flower and an incense-burner. The persons in worldly dress are all men.

6. *Buddha with his hearers*

The Buddha again in the same attitude, the cloth hangs straight. The niche is now arched with kālamakara ornement, the roof is decorated with stūpa's.

The audience are again in rows, standing or sitting; below, men dressed in the style of people of rank; those standing on the right are bhikṣu's, on the left, women. At the top are clouds and four angels on each side.

7. *Buddha with his hearers*

Here the Buddha holds his hands in the dharmacakra-mudrā; the cloth is omitted but the now-visible pedestal is ornemented with squares. The niche is again an arch finished with makara's, but the kāla-head is missing; the roof has the same stūpa decoration.

There is only one row of listeners, all seated; on the right men of rank, on the left, women, the two front ones are bhikṣuṇī's. The right as well as the left group are sitting under a tree with garlands hanging from it and rosette-shaped and cup-shaped flowers. At the top is a row of angels on clouds; the two front ones on the left wear beard's and must be brahmā-angels.

8. *Buddha with his hearers*

The Buddha sits here again in vitarka-mudrā; there is no cloth hanging down nor any ornemented pedestal. The niche has rectangular corners, the roof shews stūpa's on top as well as the corner pinnacles. Next to the top a small cloud with a bearded angel on it.

The human audience are in two rows, seated one above the other, the top row under a tree. On the right are men, left women; the former are all dressed like men of rank; among the latter upper row are some bhikṣuṇī's, below they are all well-dressed ladies. It may mean something for the identification of the whole, that the front person above on the

right wears no headdress while offering his respectful homage with both hands touching the ground. It looks rather as if the cone-shaped object that is held by the man behind him might be the headdress, but probably it is a heap of the same sort of wreaths we see in the hands of two persons in the bottom row.

9. *Buddha with his hearers*

The Buddha in the same way as on the last relief. The roof-decoration is in the same style, but the niche is trefoil-shaped.

The audience is arranged as on no. 7, in one row seated on the ground under a conventionalized tree, above which are clouds with heavenly beings flying. The hearers seated on the ground are men, on the left bhikṣu's, on the right eminent persons, the front one holding an incense-burner and a fan to keep it burning. Three of the bhikṣu's have flowers in their hands.

10. *Buddha with his hearers*

The Buddha still remains in vitarka-mudrā; the throne is rather more decorated and the cloth hangs in folds. The same stūpa-ornement is on the roof but the niche now has a kālamakara-arch; clouds with heavenly beings, one of whom on the right is playing the flute. There are two rows of listeners, one sitting and one standing. Except the two women standing above on the right, they are all men and the row on the left at the bottom are bhikṣu's. The front one has a flower in his hand, out of which rises an ornement of perfume.

11. *Buddha with his hearers*

The Buddha is the same as on the last relief and the cloth hangs in the same way. The niche at the top is rectangular and has makara-heads below; the treatment of the roof is entirely different. This roof is made in three parts; the lowest, which is broken into by the square top of the niche has two small lions seated at the side, on which rest the makara-heads of the next roof-storey. Above this are two more layers, the last one forming the top with in the centre an ornement of curved lines in the shape of a horizontal 8 filled round with scroll-work.

The small pavilion next to the building has already been mentioned (p. 23). Two bhikṣu's are sitting in it and it rather encroaches on the space left for the audience. On the left, three men in the dress of high rank are seated on the ground with three bhikṣu's standing behind them.

Above these on clouds are two heavenly beings, as well as above the pavilion where the monks are. On the right below we see three yakṣa's; above them on a partition supported by clouds are two nāga's with their distinctive snake headdress and a garuḍa with its bird-beak, but otherwise in human shape. Above in the righthand corner several waving banners are depicted.

12. *Buddha with his hearers*

This Buddha resembles his predecessors, the niche is arched, the roof finished off with the familiar stūpa-decoration. Again there are clouds with angels doing homage and as mentioned before (p. 23) flowers are falling down to the left of the niche; there are also flowers between the top of the roof and the heavenly beings in the sky.

The audience as so often before, is in two rows, a sitting and a standing one, below on the left bhikṣu's are seated, the front one with an incensory. The rest are men in worldly dress, the most fashionable of them are sitting below on the right. Some dishes with wreaths and flowers are being offered.

13. *Buddha with his hearers*

The Buddha is here quite the same as on the last relief, only the cloth under the lotus-cushion hangs down in box-pleats. The building still has the stūpa-roof, the niche is trefoil-shaped with a lion head on top and rather indistinct makara's below.

Left and right one row of hearers under a stiff ornemental tree, on the right eminent men, left, bhikṣu's, the front one again holding a censer. On clouds up above, four angels on each side, both front ones wearing a beard. Some flowers between them and the roof.

14. *Samantabhadra and his worshippers*

For the identification of the Bodhisattva I refer to the description of the chief wall of the fourth gallery in the next chapter. He is seated on the lefthand part of the relief in a plain pavilion with a rather high pedestal, the niche is arched, the roof-profile is shaped like an horizontal accolade. The Bodhisattva in high tiara and ornements is seated on the lotuscushion, the right leg folded in the usual way, but the left knee raised and the foot pushed against the cushion. The left hand rests on the knee, which is in the supporting band and holds the stem of the distinguishing emblem with the three buds; the right hand is held in front of the

breast, the palm towards the spectator and the first finger and thumb pressed together.

The audience sit in three rows one above the other, all men, below, the eminent ones, above, those of humbler sort. In front of the bottom and middle row is a vase with a spout and flowers in it; and the top row has one flower with perfume-ornement.

15. *Buddha with Bodhisattva's*

In addition to the short description given above (p. 23) the following is to be noted. At the foot of the stem that supports the lotuscushion in the centre, we see two small figures sitting evidently in attendance, quite human in shape and wearing little ornement; in the same style there is a figure in the right and lefthand corner below. The Buddha himself is seated in dhyāna-mudrā; above the back of his seat, round the halo that adorns his head, we see the leaves and branches of a tree with an umbrella in the top of it and an angel on each side. On the right and left of this centrepiece, the Boddhisattva's are sitting in three groups, all on lotuscushions with a back, in rows above each other, so that the figures in the bottom row sit with their cushions on the ground without a stem. These twelve Bodhisattva's each have a halo in contrast to the subordinate figures; of course I only presume they are Bodhisattva's, for though each is holding a flower they have none of the other attributes by which these beings are generally recognised. Perhaps the sculptor here was ordered to depict a part of the text where Bodhisattva's were spoken of in general without indicating any special one.

16. *Mañjuçrī with the monks and Sudhana* [1])

The Bodhisattva sits on a lotuscushion in a small pavilion. These buildings I shall not continue to describe, their details need not be mentioned in this part of the tale, though in the unidentified portion they might at any time prove useful, and in case anything remarkable appears it shall be noticed. The treatment of reliefs that are already identified will naturally become less elaborate than those still waiting recognition.

Mañjuçrī sits with his right leg doubled under him, the left with the

[1]) In the following reliefs I give the title which I suppose to represent the meaning in accordance with the short description given previously, not because I consider their identification established but to prevent confusion by shewing clearly which relief there mentioned is the one being now discussed.

knee up, his elbow resting on it, the hand hanging just in front of the supporting belt. This hand holds the stem of what is here a very wide blue lotus that bears the kropak. The right hand is raised but turned back in a sort of abhaya-mudrā; it is not likely anything more is meant by this gesture than just to emphasize the discourse which the Bodhisattva evidently directs towards the bhikṣu's on the left under a tree with an incensory beside them. Sudhana stands on the right, in fulldress with a halo on a pedestal, with the moneybags mentioned above in front of it; behind him stand three companions, men of rank by their dress, next to him kneel two servants, one with an umbrella and one with a sword. In the air on the same side are two angels on clouds, on the opposite side above the tree are a pair of parrots.

17. *Sudhana and Meghaçrī*

The latter is seated in a pavilion as a bhikṣu in vajrāsana and dhyāna-mudrā; right and left are two servants or worshippers with censer and flowers sitting under a tree, above on both sides two angels hovering on clouds, left bearded men, right, women. On the extreme right stands Sudhana with two attendants, one has an umbrella, the other a bowl of flowers. Above this group rises another tree, so the scene seems to be out-of-doors.

18. *Sudhana and Sāgaramegha*

Sāgaramegha too sits as a bhikṣu in a pavilion, the left hand rests on his side, the right is held against his breast, the palm turned outwards with a gesture of explanation. On the left, three servants are sitting under a tree, to the right sits Sudhana with arms crossed on his breast; behind him the umbrella and a staff with a winged shell on it are fixed up. Near him are three sitting and two standing servants, the latter with drum and conch-shell. In the air right and left heavenly beings are hovering, those on the left are playing on the drum and cymbals, on the right, a tree appears to be growing on the clouds between the two angels. The one most to the right has a necklace of precious stones in his hand.

19. *Sudhana and Supratiṣṭhita*

This scene is in the open air. The bhikṣu is sitting on a bolster with a second cushion in the back of his chair, under a large conventionalized tree with birds and other creatures in it, his left hand rests on the cushion, his right wrist is laid on his raised knee. Sudhana is kneeling before him

(the question of this figure's sex was discussed on p. 17) holding a flower in his hands that are raised in sĕmbah. Behind him and behind the bhikṣu's seat is a row of followers with flowers and tokens of esteem, all seated. Right and left on the clouds two angels are hovering. Below these on the right another small tree and two birds.

20. *Sudhana and Megha*

Another open air scene. Megha sits on a very plain kind of seat under a large fig-tree, he is wearing the high tiara of men of rank, but for the rest not much ornement; for instance he has no upavīta; but then he is a Dravidian who must be distinguished from the Hindu guru's on other reliefs. Behind him under a small tree two of his followers are sitting, in front of him Sudhana, also on a plain seat, with a flower in his hand, then another tree and Sudhana's attendants, two standing, the rest sitting. Flowers and a wreath are falling from above; on the clouds are two heavenly beings on each side of the large tree, on the left they wear beards. There is also a pair of kinnara's in the right hand top corner.

21. *Sudhana and the çreṣṭhin*

The figure who should represent the çreṣṭhin, sits in the centre of the relief facing us, the hands resting on its lap with fingers interlaced, in a building like a shrine. He wears a halo, which his predecessors have not been doing; the text will perhaps reveal the reason of this. On the left we see four standing and four sitting women, evidently belonging to the çreṣṭhin. Sudhana stands on the right, his right hand raised to enforce his speech; the three men behind him are dressed as he is and look more like friends than servants[1]), yet the fly-whisk one of them holds indicates the office of attendant. No less than four couples of angelic beings have put in an appearance at the interview.

22. *Sudhana and Sāradhvaja*

The latter appears to be a bhikṣu, seated on a chair without much decoration but with the pleated cloth hanging from it, a back to it and placed under a tree; he is conversing with Sudhana sitting before him under an umbrella and holding a red lotus in his hand; between the two stands a vase with a lid and a pedestal to it. Flowers and wreaths hover

[1]) This may also remind us of the figures of gods escorting the Bodhisattva on the Lalitavistara reliefs, without any mention in the text.

in the air, probably strewn by the angelic beings overhead, and some birds are flying about. Sudhana's retinue is similar to that on no. 20. Next to Sāradhvaja's seat is a sort of stand made of sticks for his water-jug and there is a bundle hanging on it such as that usually carried by ascetics, but it may be meant for his almsbowl. Behind him sits another bhikṣu with an ordinary servant or follower. This side of the relief is further filled in with the indications of a wooded, rocky landscape with trees, leaves and rocks and a pair of deer. The interview must have taken place in the forest.

23. *Sudhana and a woman*

The possibility of this woman, sitting with her hands in her lap in a building, being meant for Āçā, was discussed on p. 17. The relief has never been completed, neither the woman nor the building are finished off and below some of the blocks of stone are even untouched, they shew no sign of what was to be depicted on them. On each side of the woman is an incensory and Sudhana kneels on the right, his hands lifted in sĕmbah. The lady's retinue as well as that of Sudhana, sit under trees so that the scene seems to be in a park. Besides the three heavenly beings on the clouds there are three kinnara's on the right; among the trees are seven birds, one of them a peacock.

24. *Sudhana and Bhīṣmottarasangheça*

The appearance of the ṛṣi was described on p. 16; he is sitting on a ledge of rock surrounded by trees and before him, lower down, sits Sudhana. Among the young man's partly standing, partly sitting, attendants we notice one with a beard, seated in front armed with sword and shield; this is hardly likely to have any special meaning ,probably only put in as variation by the sculptor. It is to be noted that behind the ṛṣi there are three waiting-women standing as well as the seated men-servants. Angels are in the clouds.

25. *Sudhana and Maitrāyanī*

In a building in the centre of the relief, Maitrāyanī is seated facing us in dhyāna-mudrā and wearing a halo; under the seat is a vase with a spout and flowers in it. On the left a group of women sitting and standing; one of these stands away from the group. She evidently does not belong to the retinue but plays some part in the story, her hand is lifted to the height of her breast as if calling attention to something and she is

adorned with a halo. Sudhana stands on the right with a flower in his hand; behind him are his attendants, sitting and standing, among them a bald and bearded umbrella-bearer. The attendant angels are here giving a concert on the drum, monochord and other instruments.

26. *Sudhana and Sudarçana*

A couple of trees as well as the rocks behind Sudarçana's seat indicate the open air. The bhikṣu's seat is on a high pedestal, behind him two monks are kneeling, the front one holding a water-jug. Between the two chief persons there is a vase of flowers and a censer. Sudhana sits on a lower level with a blue lotus in his hand. Behind his kneeling and sitting retinue we see two horses (of one the saddle can be distinctly seen) and an elephant with a big bell on its neck and two persons seated on its back, the front one holding an angkuça. Angels and birds hover in the air.

27. *Sudhana and Indriyeçvara*

Here is a youth seated in a pavilion not over-decorated, his left hand on his lap and the right in the gesture of discoursing; the crescent behind the head has already been mentioned above. He has a halo as well; the ball-shaped top of his headdress is very curious. On the wide-spread foundation of the pavilion, Indriyeçvara's attendants are on the right and Sudhana on the left with an incensory before him. Behind, on the ground his retinue are sitting and standing, the front one holding out a round dish with wreaths on it. Behind is a fruit-tree.

28. *Sudhana and Prabhūtā*(?)

In the centre stands a large, richly ornemented building with a small niche on either side of the large one. In the chief niche is seated Prabhūtā or whoever it may be, with a halo behind her head and in the side niches is a female servant with a fly-whisk. To the left of the building is her retinue, men sitting and women standing; on the right is Sudhana, holding a flower with his attendants also sitting and standing behind him. Heavenly beings in the clouds.

29. *Sudhana and Vidvan; Sudhana continuing his travels*

This relief consists of two scenes, separated by a tree. On the right, (the scene that comes first as to time) we see the haloed Vidvan seated

in a pavilion [1]); behind him attendants sitting and standing, some armed with sword and shield. Sudhana sits before him with three attendants. Notice the money pots placed under Vidvan's seat, surely not without some meaning. They may well cause us to hesitate about our identification being correct: money is surely more likely to be found at the banker's who we suppose follows on the next relief. It is not unlikely that the sequence of the visits may have been altered, though we find no data to enlighten us as to the manner or degree of such alteration. There are pots as well on the roof of the pavilion. To the left of the tree, a man is walking away with his attendants, he is probably Sudhana with his umbrella- and fly-fan bearer and two armed guards. The text may, at this point, be describing his further journey. In the air are clouds but no angels.

30. *Sudhana and Ratnacūḍa*

It is very possible some alteration in the sequence has here too been made; the pavilion surrounded by outlines of cloud in which the chief figure is seated with a female attendant on each side, has a pedestal with three small elephants facing us in small niches and at each side of them a lion with his tail curled over his back; such a handsome pedestal is better suited to a king than a banker. Separated from the pavilion by a large ornemented vase with flowers, Sudhana sits with hands folded in sĕmbah, his attendants behind him. In the background two trees, one of them has a bell hanging on it. Birds in the air and a flying kinnarī.

31. *Not identified*

To the description already given on p. 18 may be added that the building on the extreme left, in which the four women are seated, has a high roof in four tiers with a peacock sitting on the edge of it, the pedestal has a row of nine moneybags. Both the eminent men approaching this building hand in hand, have a halo and an umbrella is held over their heads; the ribbons waving from the top of their headdress are very curious. On the right of the relief are their attendants standing and sitting. At the back are two trees.

32. ***Buddha-scene***

This scene was also discussed above; it is terribly damaged. The Buddha standing in the centre on his lotuscushion, has lost his head and his left hand, but the cushion, the halo and the umbrella remain to shew

[1]) The makara's below the niche, rest on hares.

that really a Buddha and not a bhikṣu, is intended. A good deal has been knocked off the three persons standing on the left; as far as we can see, the first was a bhikṣu, the others were dressed like men of rank. On the right are six kneeling figures, the two first, people of importance, the others servants. Heavenly beings are dropping flowers from clouds decorated with garlands; one of them rings a bell with a vajra-ornemented handle.

33. *Sudhana and Samantanetra*

The whole width of the relief is taken up by a large building, divided by pilasters into a spacious centre appartment with two side galleries. Two persons only are sitting in the middle space; Samantanetra seated with a halo behind his head, on a plain sort of throne with Sudhana on the ground in front of him. In the side wing behind the former are two attendants; those who sat in the rightwing behind Sudhana, have been broken off.

34. *Sudhana on his journey*

He is walking with a blue lotus in his hand preceded by three and followed by six attendants, all, except the umbrella-bearer, armed with a sword. Above are clouds with four angels.

35. *Sudhana and Nala*

On the left, a richly-decorated pavilion; within, Nala on a throne, haloed, and Sudhana are seated; behind each of them is a servant holding a bowl. To the right, under a fruit-tree sits a guard with a drawn sword, he has a thick mass of hair and round earrings like a yakṣa. Besides we see two sitting and one standing person plainly-dressed, the latter has a cylinder-shaped object on his shoulder, that is partly knocked off.

36. *Sudhana and Mahāprabha*

A large richly-decorated pĕndåpå divided into three by columns, on the roof a large jewel-ornement in the centre with cakra decoration at the side, which shew the royal character of the scene. In the side gallery to the right and left, where a bell hangs from the ceiling, only women are sitting; in the middle on a throne and adorned with a halo, sits the king with Sudhana, again seated on the ground. The only figure sitting inside with them, behind the king, is too dilapidated to be distinguished for male or female and was probably a servant with a bowl.

37. *Sudhana with an unknown person*

Both persons are sitting in the middle part of a spacious pavilion, between them is a bowl of wreaths on a pedestal. The unknown one wears a halo and is seated higher, but on a plain seat with an ordinary cushion. Behind both figures are their attendants, in the side wings and on the right, outside, as well.

38. *Sudhana and Acalasthirā*

The middle compartment of the pavilion, the roof of which is supported by small human figures, is divided in two by a pilaster, on each side of which Acalasthirā and her visitor are seated. In the side-wings which look like adjoining pendåpå's, the attendants are sitting as usual, left Avalasthirā's women and right, Sudhana's men. Above on the right, a kinnara is flying with a wreath in its claws.

39. *Sudhana and Sarvagrāmin*

The whole upper part of the relief represents rocks and mountains with trees above them and birds, deer and other creatures. The appearance of the parivrājaka has been described on p. 19, also the fact of there being in the lefthand lower corner in a cave a disciple whose hair is done in the same high top-knot; he holds in his right hand a rosary and the handle of a fly-whisk; his left is resting on his knee and there is an object like a water-bottle hanging over his left shoulder. The jug and trident have been discussed, a shell on a stand and a square box of pyramid shape lie next to the jug. Sarvagrāmin, whose gesture shews he is explaining something, is seated on a stool with open-work sides; between him and Sudhana, who sits with his hands in sĕmbah, a bowl of flowers is placed, his attendants are seated behind him.

40. *Sudhana and Utpalabhūti*

The pavilion that takes up the whole width of the relief, has the corners of the roof decorated with large banners; the middle of it has been knocked out and therewith the headdress of Utpalabhūti on his seat, with a bowl of flowers between him and Sudhana. The usual attendants are sitting behind each of them.

41. *Travel by sea. Sudhana and Paisa*

This relief has been fully described on p. 20. For particulars of the

ship, see further the description of ships in general, Chapt. XI; above several birds are flying. In addition to what was said about the left half of the relief, we see between the two chief figures a bowl of flowers. Paisa too has a halo and outside the building, behind Sudhana, is an attendant with a sword holding a square box.

Let us notice the tree at the back of the attendant to see the way in which these double reliefs are divided. It appears to be rooted on the very edge of the quay that the ship seems on the point of running into. If this was intended, then of course the whole relief would belong together and mean that at the same moment the conversation in the pavilion was taking place, the ship was nearing the quay. The meaning is evidently quite different; the tree is put there as a partition; it separates the conversation from the sea piece. There is not the least connection of place between the two halves; the events on the ship may be meant to happen at an entirely different time to the conversation and while the vessel is in mid-ocean; nor are we obliged to think of the pavilion as being at the seaside.

42. *Sudhana travelling*

Preceded by men of rank on horseback, not riding with legs across the horse, but with their feet on the saddle, Sudhana is travelling in a palanquin with the broken stalk of a flower in his hand; the vehicle looks like a throne with a canopy above it, evidently an awning on four pilasters. It is carried by sixteen bearers on two bamboo poles. In the background we see two umbrellas, a quiver, a bow and a fly-whisk above the heads of the attendants. Two men with swords are walking under, that is, at the side of, the palanquin. All these people are very poorly dressed, the procession ends with an armed man of higher class. In the lefthand top corner a couple of heavenly beings are hovering; the right hand corner is missing.

43. *Conversation with a bhikṣuṇī*

The bhikṣuṇī, Āçā or someone else, has been discussed on p. 14 sq. She is seated in a pavilion next to which two nuns and a waiting-maid are sitting. Sudhana seated before her on the other side, has disappeared almost entirely, his attendants are still there. In the background, some trees, so the scene is out of doors; a row of birds are perched on the pavilion roof.

44. *Conversation with a man*

Both persons, one of whom has no head, while the other wears a halo, are seated in a pavilion with a bowl of flowers between them. Outside on both sides their retinue, on the right sitting under a tree. On the left we notice one person very awkwardly made with his head turned at an impossible angle to his body as if it did not belong to him. This is even more than a supple native could accomplish and is very remarkable among these reliefs that usually shew great artistic skill.

45. *Stūpa-worship*

In the centre of the relief is a stūpa on a lotus cushion that rests on a square pedestal with ornemented panels; the middle of the building is hung with a band of garlands and it is crowned by a pinnacle that also rests on a square pedestal, it is decorated with five umbrellas, first a small one, then a very wide one and after that three, gradually smaller one above the other, on the top is a jewel-ornement. On each side of the stūpa kneels a haloed man in ceremonial dress; the whole stūpa with the two men is within another building, roofed in with a stūpa decoration. On both sides, attendants are kneeling and standing, holding suitable offerings of flowers, and above, two pairs of angels are doing homage. Notice the kind of fan one of the standing attendants on the right is holding.

46. *Journey by chariot*

The chief person, probably still Sudhana with a halo, sits in a four-wheeled carriage that, without the wheels, looks very much like the pavilions occupied by the people on other reliefs, only it is not so large. The charioteer sits in front, there are two horses wearing a collar with bells on it and a saddle, each with a rider with legs down in the usual way. The chariot is crowned with a large jewel-ornement. Behind walks the escort, among them two armed with bow and arrows. On the left in the air, two angels, on the opposite side some traces of clouds can be seen but what was above them has disappeared.

47. *Visit to Avalokiteçvara*

The Bodhisattva and his visitor are in a building. The latter kneels on the right, his hands in sĕmbah; the Bodhisattva as before mentioned (p. 8), can be distinctly recognised by the Amitābha-image in his headdress, he

sits with legs crossed on his throne, the right hand lifted in the attitude of preaching with the stalk of the padma in the lefthand laid on his knee. He is here depicted in ordinary human shape. Outside the building worshippers are standing and sitting; on the left women, on the right men, among them a bearded man holding a bowl of flowers. Right and left in the air, an adoring angel.

48. *Visit to Mahādeva*

The left part of the relief has suffered very badly so that a good deal of the pavilion is missing on that side, as well as the head of Çiva who is sitting in it. But the god is clearly to be identified (as before mentioned): for he is depicted in his four armed shape, the left hand resting in his lap, the right raised in discourse; in the back right hand he holds a rosary, in the left a fly-whisk and under his seat is the Nandi. Sudhana sits on the right outside the pavilion, his hands in sĕmbah, behind him sit and stand his retinue. Above in the air are angels. A large padma is falling from the sky.

49. *Conversation with a woman*

This scene takes us out of doors again, with four trees spread out in the background. Under the largest a woman adorned with a halo sits on a stone bench; jars are placed against the tree and next to it; chains of jewels hang out of them. Under the seat, five persons, who seem all to be women, are squeezed into the space with a box that is shut. Quite to the left, under a tree, three armed guards are sitting. In front of the woman, but lower, Sudhana (we shall continue to call him Sudhana on the unidentified reliefs) is seated, a bowl of flowers between them; then comes a row of pots and Sudhana's attendants, sitting. There are several pieces missing on the righthand side of the relief, but apparently nothing of importance to the story.

50. *Conversation with a woman*

A less elaborate pavilion, with a tree on either side and a pair of angels above. In the pavilion a lady with a halo sits on the left conversing with Sudhana seated inside with her; neither have a chair but the lady has a sort of mat or cushion. Under the tree on the left are her women, under that on the right Sudhana's retinue.

51. *Paying homage to a woman*

Another open-air scene with four trees, the furthest to the right is

laden with fruit. The same pots that figured on No. 49 also appear, they are placed in front as well as behind the lady who is wearing a halo, seated on the left of the relief with a bolster at her back, two waiting-women standing and a guard sitting behind her. The chief male figure is bowing to the ground with his face on his hands before the lady. he is on a small terrace decorated with rosette ornement. The halo he wears everywhere else, is here omitted. Behind him kneel four attendants, the front one, the umbrella-hearer has a big moustache.

52. *Conversation with a woman*

On this relief the man and woman in chief, are sitting together with a bowl of flowers between them, in a pavilion. Behind her a couple of women, under her seat is a closed box (comp. no. 49). Sudhana holds something quite indistinct in the photograph, probably it is a flower, on his open hands, his retinue sit outside the pavilion under a tree.

53. *Conversation with a woman*

This is a very small pavilion, there is only room for the lady by herself with a halo. Outside, on the left are her sitting and standing servants, on the right a large tree underneath which Sudhana and his retinue are seated. He holds in his hand an utpala-shaped flower; in the top of it is a hole in which something may have been fixed.

54. *Journey on an elephant*

The procession begins with four men richly dressed on horseback, riding in the usual way. Next comes the elephant with his mahaut holding the angkuça and the umbrella-bearer walking next to its head. The animal's neck and saddlecloth are plentifully adorned with bells, as well as the necks of the horses; it carries an elegant howdah with a canopy on pilasters in which Sudhana is seated. Then follow a second umbrella-bearer and some servants. Angels with clouds on the left.

55. *Conversation with a man*

The manner in which this interview is depicted differs somewhat from what generally appears. Everywhere else, the person with a halo, dressed like people of high rank, whom we have looked upon as Sudhana, was the one who came as a visitor; he was placed on a lower seat to pay homage and sometimes sat outside the pavilion.

Here it seems to be the other way about, the figure that should be Sudhana according to his dress, is seated in the pavilion on the left of the relief receiving homage from two men sitting under a penthouse supported by pilasters, with an incensory before them; the front one wears a high tiara and a halo, but with that exception they both look like persons of lower rank. Of course it is quite possible that the difference is merely superficial and may be ascribed to the wish for variety so that the two men under the penthouse are Sudhana with an attendant, while the man in the pavilion is the one he comes to visit. The righthand of the relief is occupied by standing and sitting attendants bearing rich gifts, among which a bundle of clothes and a large rectangular package tied round with string, that may be a parcel of books or else a box. On the clouds are angelic musicians with drum and cymbals, dropping flowers from the sky.

56. *Conversation with a woman*

The lady, wearing a halo, is seated in a pavilion, the side-walls supported by little human figures and its roof decorated with lions and gargoyles of monster heads. Behind the pavilion are waiting-women; in front of the lady kneels Sudhana, leaning on the ground with his hands in front of his knees. His attendants holding flowers are sitting and standing behind him, a pair of angels hover in the right top corner.

57. *Interview with a goddess (Varā?)*

This relief was discussed on p. 24 with special reference to the large moneypots placed behind the seated lady who wears a halo; they are guarded by a seated figure like a yakṣa armed with a sword. The kinnarī perched on the back of the seat, or on the money-pot, has also been mentioned. Two large trees fill up the background, a third smaller one we see just behind the flower vase placed between Sudhana and the goddess, — there would be no kinnarī in attendance if the woman was not a heavenly being—Sudhana has his hands folded in sĕmbah and is sitting on a cushion a little lower. The right lower part of the relief is taken up by his retinue, seated; two women attendants stand by their mistress's chair. The relief is not quite finished, neither the leaves nor the stem of the tree furthest to the right; only the outlines have been put in. In the right hand top corner is some object too dilapidated for recognition.

58. *Journey on foot*

The chief person is walking in the middle of the scene towering above

his attendants, behind him his retinue, before him are ten men of distinction, some armed with swords, one of whom has turned round to do him homage; the last of the ten has lost the upper half of his body. Above are clouds with angels, right and left.

59. *Conversation with a woman*

A pavilion divided in three parts. In the middle apartment a lady seated on cushions wearing a halo, on the left waiting-women standing and sitting; on the right, Sudhana kneeling with hands in sĕmbah. Behind him outside the building, his retinue, some with bow and arrows, above are two angels. Under the woman's seat we see there has been a figure now nearly worn away, on the photograph it looks something like a pair of animals but this is uncertain.

60. *Conversation with a woman*

She is sitting on a throne and has a halo; opposite to her on a block sits Sudhana, inside her pavilion, holding his hands in sĕmbah. Behind them both in the pĕndåpå-like side-wings, sit their attendants, women on the left, men on the right. Heavenly beings on both sides, above.

61. *Unidentified*

This relief was also discussed on p. 24 as one differing entirely from the adjacent ones and likely to give points for further identification. The right half is taken up by a pavilion in which is seated cross-legged alone, the figure of a man with a halo, facing us, the left hand resting in his lap, the right in a sort of abhaya-mudrā. On the left, four servants asleep, the front one with a sword laid across his knees; behind them stands an elephant turned to the right and above, in the air, also turning towards the pavilion, two female angels, the first with a garland, the second with a dish of flowers.

62. *Conversation with a woman*

This lady is seated on a throne with two large cushions in the middle part of her pavilion, she has a halo; in the side-wing behind her are her women, in that in front of her, only a large vase of flowers on a pedestal between two small incensories. On a low stool outside the pavilion sits Sudhana; in his right hand he has an incensory of larger size, in the left some half-obliterated object that may have been the fan belonging to the censer. Two attendants sit behind him, the second one wears a beard and

holds a sword; a third is standing behind and bends forward with a round dish with a lid in his hands. Above on the clouds are angels with flowers.

63. *Conversation with a woman*

Sudhana is here again seated with hands in sĕmbah outside the pavilion, two attendants sitting behind him, one a brahman, and one standing; in the air heavenly beings, one of them ringing a bell. On the other side of the pavilion are some female servants. The building is divided into three niches, on each side in the narrow side-niche, stands a female attendant with a fly-whisk, in the centre sits the lady with a halo. The roof is decorated with human and with lion figures, at the base of the pavilion is a small supporting figure at either side and in the middle between two pillasters a vase with a lid, round and rather flat in shape.

64. *Conversation with a man*

A wide spacious pavilion in three compartments each having a separate roof. In the centre one sits a man in the dress of people of distinction, on a throne; in that on the right, sits the visitor dressed in the same style, with his attendants behind him outside the building; the compartment on the left is occupied by three seated attendants of the man on the throne. We must notice that only the man who is receiving the visit here has a halo, whereas up to this point, the visitor who should be Sudhana, with only one exception, has always been depicted with a halo. Of course it is impossible to decide if this may be Sudhana receiving (as possibly on no. 55 is the case), or if it is only carelessness on the sculptor's part, besides there is the possibility that this relief shews an episode in which Sudhana had no share. It is certainly noticeable that in the reliefs following this one, the visitor is never given a halo. As he is now and then being received by women, the first of the three suppositions is the least probable. Above, on the right are clouds with two heavenly beings, on the left, three birds. The angels here are embedded in a mass of clouds, with festoons of cloth hanging to them.

65. *Conversation with a woman*

In a spacious pavilion, its roof decorated with lions and human supporting figures, a woman with a halo sits on a high throne with a bowl of flowers underneath; it rests on two figures of lions sitting on their haunches. Next to her throne two waiting-women stand with fly-

whisks, a third is seated. The visitor sitting opposite to her, whose followers are behind him in an adjacent appartment, is not only without a halo, as noticed above [1]), but he is not dressed like a man of rank and even the umbrella-bearer is missing. Angels hover in the righthand top corner and one all alone on the lefthand side.

66. *Conversation with a woman*

The visitor is now dressed again in fine clothes and has an umbrella over his head; he is sitting on the right under a tree with attendants standing and sitting. The lady is in a small pavilion on a seat with a bowl of wreaths underneath it, she has no halo. Her waiting-women are standing and sitting under another tree, left of the pavilion.

67. *Conversation with a man*

The man is seated on a throne, with a halo behind his head in a small pavilion. On the platform outside the building, on the right we see some attendants seated, one of whom holds a large curved sword and on the left the visitor is kneeling, his hands resting in front of him on the ground. Behind him under a tree are two servants, above in the air, only clouds without heavenly beings.

68. *Unidentified*

This relief already discussed on p. 25 appears to have no connection with the series of conversation-scenes. The whole of the right side of it is taken up by a building in which a man of distinction with a halo, is sitting on a seat with a lady; his face has been knocked off. In front of the building sit a couple of servants, one of them hangs his head as if asleep. The whole is surrounded by a palissade that is shewn first going under the building, then upwards at right angles and so cutting off that whole piece of the scene. Just behind the servants is a gateway, evidently the entrance, and outside to the left is a tree, with an umbrella fixed up next to it and two servants under it, one a bearded man with a sword, of course the guards, sitting asleep. Above the servants within the palissade, a flying female with a halo, approaches the couple in the pavilion. The palissade continuing on that side of the gateway, goes up to the top of the relief right through the clouds in the left top-corner.

[1]) It looks as if there might be some traces of it, but this may be an optical delusion.

69. *Conversation with a man*

The person who receives the visit sits on a throne in the middle niche of a pavilion, in the niches on each side, a waiting-woman with a fly-whisk is placed, on the left edge, a man with a beard is sitting and a woman stands. The visitor holds a large round flower and sits with three attendants behind him to the right of the pavilion under a tree. In the clouds right and left, a heavenly being.

70. *Conversation with a brahman*

According to p. 16, it is possible this brahman may be Jayaśīnāyatana. He is depicted in the usual style and is seated under a low penthouse, on a plain seat with an incensory before him; in the space under his seat is a servant with a closed box. Behind him, under a tree, are some attendants in ordinary mundanĕ dress; opposite to him on a cushion placed on a bench, is the visitor with hands in sĕmbah, his followers behind him under a tree; the umbrella-bearer is bald. Above are clouds with garlands hanging from them and in the middle two angelic beings.

71. *Conversation with a woman*

A wide and spacious pavilion, room enough for the lady with a halo seated on her throne with legs crossed, for two waiting-women seated on the left and for the visitor sitting on the right; he holds a flower between his hands folded in sĕmbah, his attendants sit in an adjacent compartment to the right. The throne rests on two sitting lions with a bowl filled with something between; above the pavilion several birds perch and fly, some are peacocks; in the righthand top corner is a cloud with garlands to it.

72. *Conversation with a man*

He is sitting between two women in his pavilion, next to which on the right are a couple of attendants. The visitor's retinue sits on the left, they have a standard with a shell as well as the umbrella; above are clouds with two heavenly beings. The visitor is here standing between his retinue and the building, he is holding his left hand above an incensory placed on the ground, probably dropping grains of incense into it.

73. *Walking on the clouds*

The bottom of the whole relief represents clouds. A whole row of people

are walking on them towards the left, first two women, one with an oval dish filled with something, the second carrying a fly-whisk. Flowers are falling on to these women and on the whole procession, flowers and wreaths seem to descend. Behind these women comes the chief male person, taller than the others, with a red lotus on a long stalk in his right hand, followed by eight companions who do not look like servants, carrying various objects, mostly flowers.

74. *Buddha and Bodhisattva's*

The scene is a lotus-pond; the bottom of the relief shews water with fishes swimming in it and lotus buds and leaves growing in it. Five large lotus cushions rise out of the pond, on the largest one in the middle a Buddha is seated with an umbrella over his head, he sits in the dhyāna-mudrā. On the cushions right and left of him, men in the dress of high rank are sitting, also in vajrāsana and with a halo behind the head, undoubtedly Bodhisattva's. The pose of their hands is various, but they wear no emblems that identify them. The whole background is filled in with buds and leaves from the pond; above are clouds with garlands hanging from them.

75. *Homage to Buddha*

Here again the lotuspond. The water is not very clearly shewn, but to the right we see the same plants as on the last relief; to the left, aquatic beasts, fish, tortoises and a snake. On the extreme right rises the lotus-cushion throne of Buddha, an umbrella in the air above his head, flowers falling around him; he sits with the left hand in his lap and the right in abhaya-mudrā. Next to him is a small tree and then two kneeling and two standing women in the dress of servants with various gifts of homage in their hands. Behind them, on the left, is a dilapidated group of a man of rank sitting between two women. These people are not placed on lotuscushions but are seated just above the plants and animals. Three heavenly beings above, on clouds.

76. *Buddha worshipped by women*

The bottom edge of the relief consists of smooth stones, that were perhaps intended to be turned into a lotus pond. The Buddha is here standing on his lotuscushion, the umbrella again above his head, flowers and wreaths falling round him. The left hand is held up to his shoulder, the right has been knocked off. To the right stand three male servants

who are not taking part in the worship but seem to be put in as a sort of retinue; on the other side of the lotuscushion, a vase with a spout and flowers in it and a small censer are placed. Behind that, taking up all the left of the relief are nine women, kneeling and standing with their offerings. An umbrella and standards in the background. On the clouds above are many heavenly beings who join in the worship.

77. *Conversation with a woman*

Here, the same as on no. 79 and 80, it is a question if a conversation is really represented. While other reliefs so clearly depict two chief persons who appear to be carrying on the conversation, here we have one chief person, a woman, so evidently the centre of the picture that it looks more like a lecture being given by this central figure to a mixed audience than a conversation between her and any of those seated around her. The large pavilion takes up nearly all the relief. In the middle of it sits the woman with a halo on her throne, the right hand lifted with the gesture of speaking, the left resting in her lap. On both sides stands a waiting-woman with a fly-whisk; further to the left are women seated and on the right two men of distinction, the front one with a flower in his left hand who, if this is a conversation, must be the second person speaking.

78. *Homage to the Buddha*

Again a Buddha standing on a lotuscushion with umbrella and falling flowers, the left hand lifted to his shoulder, the right in vara-mudrā. On his left hand, quite to the right on the relief, stand two persons, one man of rank with a halo (Sudhana?) and a bhikṣu. On his other side is a small tree and underneath it a vase with a spout and flowers in it, between a (damaged) incensory and a dish with a round thing in it.

In the background another tree and a standard; angels are again in the clouds, trimmed with garlands. Flowers and wreaths fall on the Buddha.

79. *Conversation with a woman*

A large pavilion with a side-wing on the right. In the centre sits the lady with a halo, her hands laid on her lap; her throne is supported on lions, a waiting-maid holding a fly-whisk stands on each side of her. To the left, on the ground sits a woman with a branch of flowers and on the right, his hands in sĕmbah, the man who is visiting her; his followers are placed in the side-wing, above which in the top corner are conventionalized clouds.

80. *Conversation with a goddess*

We see this is a superhuman being because she is seated on a lotus-cushion. It rests on a pedestal; the goddess who of course wears a halo, is seated cross-legged, the left hand on her lap, holding the right in abhaya-mudrā, a servant with fly-whisk is standing on each side of her. Further to the left are three women and on the right three men of distinction, the front one holding his hands in sĕmbah. All these persons are inside a pavilion that takes up the whole of the relief, its roof is decorated with ten pots with lotusbuds in them. Notice the curious decoration at the top of the relief on both sides, a row of seven flying parrots quite uniform in style.

81. *Buddha and his hearers*

The Buddha is seated facing us on a lotuscushion in a small pavilion, a cloth hangs over the pedestal. The left hand rests on his lap, the right is raised in discourse. The roof of the pavilion is surrounded by clouds, so that it is probably intended to be in the sky. On the right four bhikṣu's are seated. On the left sits the chief male figure, a halo behind his head, an incensory in his hand; behind him his attendants, sitting and standing. One of them looks like a brahman. In the air right and left a cloud with the upper part of a heavenly being in it.

82. *Visit to a woman*

This relief is unfinished and is damaged as well. The woman is seated in a small pavilion decorated with vases of flowers, she has a halo; next to the building, on the left, are three female attendants. On the right stands the chief male figure and behind him a number of very much damaged attendants, some armed. In the air are angels, but a large piece of them is missing.

83. *Conversation with a woman*

On this and the two following reliefs, the chief person making the visit again wears a halo and entirely resembles the Sudhana of the identified reliefs. It appears further that in the reliefs where a visit has been identified from the text, he sometimes has a halo and sometimes not, so that evidently the sculptor has been rather careless about this attribute in the latter part of the story. For convenience sake, we shall continue to call this person Sudhana on the unidentified reliefs as well; if the halo is missing it will be mentioned.

The woman is sitting, wearing a halo, on a throne with a round cushion, in a small pavilion crowned with jewels and shewing small lions at each side of the pedestal. To the left of the building are two standing and three sitting waiting-women. On the right sits Sudhana cross-legged with his hands in sĕmbah, an incensory next to him. The smoke of the incense rises into a cloud or at any rate touches the edge where a large celestial hovers above his head; a smaller angel is to be seen in each top corner. Behind Sudhana, his retinue is seated under a tree.

84. *Conversation with a man*

Again a man with a halo on a throne in a pavilion, behind him three servants. He holds the caste-cord in his right hand, under his seat sits a small human figure next to an oblong or cylinder-shaped package with bands round it, and a pile of dishes with two strings of beads hanging out of the top one. On the right is Sudhana and his armed escort; in the background a large and a small tree and an elephant lifting its trunk, wearing only a saddle-cloth.

85. *Conversation with a woman*

Here just like no. 83 we see a lady with a halo seated in a pavilion, with lions carved on the corners of its pedestal, her women next to her on the left. Sudhana on the right sits cross-legged with hands in sĕmbah and his attendants behind him under a tree. There are no celestials, only a couple of birds.

86. *Conversation with a cave-dweller*

We have no better name for this man who is sitting on a plain seat in the niche formed by the familiar schematic rocks. The trees at the side as well as overhead, shew the forest scenery. The man is not a brahman nor does he wear his hair high and unkempt, or twisted into a knot like the ṛṣi's or ascetics, but above his beardless face is a headdress such as is worn by middle-class persons on other reliefs and his body is not bare but partly covered by a garment fastened on his left shoulder. Impossible to say what sort of man he is intended for. The rocks continue into the lefthand edge of the relief and leave a place for two seated men in ordinary worldly dress, one holding a flower; they are evidently followers of the chief cave-dweller. On the right sits the male visitor without his halo, holding an orchid-like flower with both hands. His retinue, one of them with a beard holding up the sinté-leaf, all sit behind him.

87. *Conversation with a man*

The two chief-persons sit facing each other discoursing, both without halo; the one on a high throne in a pavilion, the other to the right of the building. Each has a small group of attendants seated behind him under a tree; parrots and other birds flying and in the trees.

88. *Conversation with a man*

This man as usual, sits in a pavilion, not on a chair but a plain bench with a chest in front of it. The visitor, without a halo, wearing a high conical headdress is kneeling with his hands leaning on the ground in front of his knees, to the right of the building; behind him his retinue sitting and standing, among them a bearded umbrella-bearer. To the left of the pavilion are the attendants of the man seated within, standing, and seated. The front one seated has a beard and maybe is a brahman; the two standing ones have thick curly hair. The front one holds a vase with a spout, the second a bundle of folded garments or something similar. On each side above, two celestials.

89. *Sudhana and Jayottama* (?)

Sudhana, here without a halo, is seated on the right with his escort, some of them armed with swords, behind him; he holds in his hands a ball-shaped object that looks rather like an upturned bowl. In front of him in the pavilion the banker (?) is comfortably seated among cushions, his right hand lifted with a gesture of speaking. Under his seat is a space with four persons and a box in it. Behind the pavilion, left on the relief, some attendants stand and sit with gifts for the guest. In each top corner is a celestial. On p. 21, the nine pots that ornement the roof of the building have been alluded to. The stones below Sudhana and his attendants have been left smooth but were probably intended to be carved.

90. *Sudhana and Siṃhavyasambhitā*

A sort of veranda is here added to the front of the pavilion and in it Sudhana is sitting on the ground, without a halo and with an incensory beside him. Behind him quite on the right side of the relief, his armed escort are seated under a tree. The bhiksuṇī seated in the pavilion, lifts her hand up to her shoulder, speaking; her seat is quite a plain one. On each side in the pedestal of the building is a small lion and in the middle space under the lady's seat is a closed box and a pile of dishes,

the top one with something in it. Just at the back of the pavilion on the left, stands another bhikṣuṇī holding up a jug in her left hand; beside her are three waiting maids in worldly dress with umbrella and fly-whisk, under a tree. Above the pavilion hover flowers and wreaths and there is a heavenly being on a cloud with a bowl of flowers.

91. *Sudhana and Sumitrā*

Sumitrā with a halo sits on her throne in a pavilion crowned with jewel ornements, a bowl of flowers under her seat; the pedestal of the building has been left undecorated. On the left is a tree with birds above it; her attendants sit beneath it, one standing and three sitting; on the right is another tree with Sudhana sitting under it, his hands in sĕmbah. Behind him his escort seated and standing, the latter in full-dress holding trays full of flowers. In the background is another tree.

92. *Conversation with a woman*

The chief persons are seated together on a wide seat that takes up the width of the pavilion, its pilasters resting on lions. The righthand side of the seat where the man is sitting without a halo, has a back to it, he is evidently receiving homage from the woman kneeling on the left of him, holding an utpala in her hands folded in sĕmbah. The gesture of his right hand looks rather like refusal. Under the seat is a bowl and a covered dish. Trees to the right and left of the pavilion, birds flying above. Under the left hand tree the lady's attendants are sitting, under that on the right the man's escort with a cakra standard.

93. *Exercise of charity*

The righthand side of the relief shews a canopy resting on pilasters, along the top of which a row of birds are perching. Under this in front, stands a man of high rank without a halo, evidently distributing gifts with his damaged right hand. His standing and kneeling servants behind him are holding them ready; one has a bowl of gold rings, another garments, a third has had his share knocked out of his hand, for this part of the relief has suffered badly. On the extreme right, behind these servants, is a small closed building in the style of small temples such as Tjaṇḍi Pawon. On the left hand part of the relief the receivers of the dole are standing and sitting under two trees, some already have gifts in their open hands (rings for instance); they are dressed like attendants, not as the poor and needy.

94. *Worshipping Buddha*

The Buddha is standing on a lotuscushion under a canopy held over his head by two celestials, his right hand in vitarka-mudrā, the left holding the hem of his garment at his left shoulder. At his right hand stand (left of the relief) two bhikṣu's, the front one holding his garment in the same pose as the Master. Next to the Buddha on the right, flowers are falling from the sky and there kneels the chief person without a halo, his hands folded reverently in sĕmbah. His retinue, sitting and standing, fill up the rest of the relief, one with a bouquet, others with vases of flowers and suchlike offerings of homage; above them is a row of heavenly beings on clouds festooned with garlands.

95. *Conversation with a woman*

On the left a simply-built pavilion in which a woman is seated on a cushion. She has no waiting-women. On the right is a pĕndåpå supported by pillars, with birds on the roof, in which six men in the dress of distinguished persons are sitting. The front one, the most distinguished looking, sits a bit in front of the others with hands folded in sĕmbah, he has no halo. The second has a beard but his hair is not done in brahman style and he is wearing an ordinary worldly headdress. The lower edge of the relief has not been worked on.

96. *Stūpa-worship*

The platform on which the stūpa and the two worshippers are placed is here also left in the rough. The stūpa rests on a lotus cushion, it is ornemented with a band of garlands and has a sharp-pointed pinnacle with one umbrella disk on it; the square pedestal, resting on the figures of lions at each side with a bowl of fruit in the middle, stands on another rectangular pedestal, on which is carved a dish with something like wreaths on it, between two small censers. Next to this are the two worshippers, one on the right standing with hands in sĕmbah, on the left one kneeling and offering a dish of fruit and a flower. Both are persons of distinction, whose attendants seated lower, hold the umbrella over their heads; they have no haloes. Flowers are falling round the stūpa; to the left is a tree and on the right a heavenly being dropping flowers from a cloud.

97. *Travelling with an elephant*

The elephant walks in front; his mahaut is on its neck, but the seat on its

back is empty. Bells hang on the neck and saddle-cloth, its tail is unusually long. The man intended to ride on the animal makes a gesture of refusal with his righthand; he is walking, attended by his escort and wears no halo. To the right is a tree with birds in it and on the left clouds and angels.

98. *Stūpa-worship*

Two buildings fill up this relief. In the left one, with a row of crawling tortoises round the base, a stūpa rests on a lotuscushion above a pedestal; it has a band of garlands round the middle and is crowned with thirteen umbrella-disks, first larger to the middle and then diminishing in size to the top. In the right hand building, a pĕndåpå supported by pilasters, with peacocks on the roof, the chief person is sitting, a man without halo, his hands, now damaged, probably folded in sĕmbah, with two or three attendants behind him. Above, angels on clouds.

99. *Sudhana and Veṣṭhila*

In a small pavilion on the left of the relief, Veṣṭhila with a halo, is seated facing us in dhyāna-mudrā on a plain seat. On the left of the pavilion, under a tree sits a single attendant rather the worse for wear; to the right, first a small incensory, a second tree and then Sudhana sitting with what has probably been a flower (now worn away) in his left hand, with his escort behind him under a third tree. This part of the scene is very much damaged; angels hover above on clouds. In the decoration of the roof, notice the makara-heads stretching after little human figures running away.

100. *Sudhana with Avalokiteçvara of Potalaka*

The Bodhisattva is seated under an arch formed by rocks on which we see trees and plants and deer with other animals to shew the mountainous forest scenery, such as belongs to Potalaka[1]). In the top of the arch is an umbrella and two jewel-pots. The throne at the sides, and the pedestal as well, is decorated with lions and little human figures; those at the sides of the seat are resting on half an elephant with its trunk turned away, while on the top (not at the side) of the cross beam on the chair-

[1]) For some account of the various beings and objects that were supposed to exist at Potalaka, (but are omitted at Barabuḍur) compare the description in the Āryatārābhaṭṭārikānāmaṣṭottaraçatakastotra on p. 48 and 54 of De Blonay's Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la déesse buddhique Târâ (Bibl. Ec. haut. Etud. 107, 1895).

back the makara's are found. The Bodhisattva with his usual Amitābha-headdress is four-armed, the right hand is held in vara-mudrā, the left has been knocked off but held the stalk of a padma; in the additional hands we see probably, in the right a rosary (not very distinct) and left an angkuça. He is wearing, also in the following reliefs, a broad band over the left shoulder and sits in vajrāsana on a lotus cushion. On the left are two rows of hearers one above the other, the lower ones very much worn-away; the top corner here is altogether missing. On the right on level ground, Sudhana is approaching on foot with several attendants. Above these is another row of the Bodhisattva's audience, sitting not on clouds but on the rocks; as far as we can see, they are all men.

101. *Homage offered to Avalokiteçvara*

An actual leader of the people doing homage is not to be discovered at first sight; they are all men. The relief is a good deal damaged. The worshippers here sit in two rows one above the other, on both sides of the relief; the top row have clouds under them as well as above them and must be celestials. The front person below on the left with the small incensory and fan, has certainly lost his headdress, but as he is the only one who had a halo, we can consider him to be Sudhana. In the centre is the pavilion of the Bodhisattva with two angels hovering above it, he is here seated on a lion-throne with a lotus cushion in vajrāsana; he again wears the Amitābha in his headdress and is four-armed; although three of the hands have disappeared, it is quite distinct that the right hand was held in vara-mudrā and the left held the stalk of a padma, while the second hand on the same side has a kropak. The pedestal of the pavilion is uncut.

102. *Sudhana with Avalokiteçvara*

Without the text, we are not able to understand why three scenes are given to Sudhana's interview with Avalokiteçvara: it may be the course of the tale would tell us that the Bodhisattva manifested himself in various ways. On this relief he still sits on a lion-throne with a lotus cushion in vajrāsana in a pavilion, with the Amitābha in his headdress, but here he is represented six-armed. The front pair of hands has, right, the vara-mudrā, the left holds the padma stalk; the second right hand is indistinct and the left holds an amṛta-bottle; the third right hand has the rosary and the left is missing. Sudhana stands on the left of the pavilion, his hands folded in sĕmbah and four attendants

behind him; on the right stands another man with a plainer headdress and no halo, holding up a flower in his right hand, with a couple of attendants seated under a tree. Angels on clouds above, on both sides.

103. *Sudhana and Ananyagāmin*

The last-mentioned is sitting in a not very elaborate niche, dressed in the ordinary costume of men of rank and wearing a halo; his attitude is vajrāsana with the left hand resting on his lap, the right lifted in the gesture of preaching; bells hang on each side of the niche and its top is edged with clouds out of which rise the figures of two bearded celestials such as we have seen several times, the same that are found on the doorways of the fourth gallery. In the centre of the arch with its crowning lion head, the ornement branches out into a tree spreading wide with an umbrella above it and birds among its leaves. Angels of the usual kind hover in both top corners, but under the one on the left as a continuation to the tree is a landscape with rocks and a pair of deer; below that, three of Ananyagāmin's followers are sitting with a waterjug on a rustic stand between them and their master. Below on the right, on the other side of the niche, sits Sudhana, his hands folded in sĕmbah, with a couple of servants.

104. *Sudhana and Mahādeva*

Here again a rocky forest landscape with deer and birds is placed round the god. He is seated in vajrāsana on a lotus cushion that rests on a stone pedestal, in front of which lies the Nandi. The god is four-armed, the first pair in dhyana-mudrā, the second holding the usual emblems, right the rosary, left the fly-whisk, his trident we see straight up at the side of the rock. The serpent-upavīta is plainly to be seen but no sign of the crescent or the skull in his headdress. The two standing and two sitting persons to the left of the rocks, rather weatherworn, but still resembling brahmans, belong most likely to the god; on the right there are four standing and two seated persons. Both the latter are rather indistinct but seem to resemble those sitting on the left; those standing, all men, wear (certainly three, perhaps four) the dress of distinguished people. The front one ought to be Sudhana, though he has nothing to distinguish him from his companions and wears no halo. Three pairs of angels hover overhead.

105. *Sudhana and the first Rātridevatā*

The goddess is sitting in the porch of her palace or temple; though the side of the building apparently faces us, the porch has been turned towards the spectator. She has a worn-off object, like a bowl, in her hand. Sudhana sits on the right under a tree, his hands in sĕmbah, separated from the goddess by an incensory and a bowl of flowers, his retinue under another tree behind him; this part of the relief is very much worn-away. One or two of the goddess's women are squeezed in behind the palace on the left; the top of the relief is filled in with a celestial choir with drum and cymbals, in the righthand top corner are two kinnara's separated from the others by clouds.

106. *Sudhana and the second Rātridevatā*

The goddess sits on a throne in a pavilion with triçūla-ornements on the top, an angel hovers on each side of the roof. On the left, the goddess's women are standing, and one sitting, under a tree; on the right stands Sudhana with a dwarf umbrella-bearer and three companions or attendants.

107. *Sudhana and the third Rātridevatā*

A wide pavilion stretches right across the relief and above is only room for one or two treetops and some angels in the sky. All the figures in the scene are seated within the five arches of the building. In the centre, the goddess on a throne resting on lions with a closed chest or box under it; she has her righthand raised. To the right are her women; on the left with a censer and a bowl of flowers between them, Sudhana is sitting with his hands folded together on his breast and three attendants, the last holding a scimitar.

108. *Sudhana and the fourth Rātridevatā*

On an undecorated seat placed in a small pavilion in the centre of the relief, with an angel at each side of the roof, the goddess is seated with a flower in her lefthand. A tree on each side in the background. On the left her women are standing and sitting, one of them holding a fan; on the right stands Sudhana with an object in his hand not to be recognised on the photograph, and behind him are six attendants, some with flowers.

109. *Sudhana and the fifth Rātridevatā*

A damaged relief with large gaps in it. Though the sculptor has done his best to bring variety into these reliefs with such similar kind of scenes, they are bound to be very much alike in the main. Here again we have a goddess on a seat without ornement in her pavilion, turning towards Sudhana seated on the right; on each side their attendants sitting under a tree and above, clouds with angels on them. The front woman holds a curious-looking object like a loaf of bread in her hands; perhaps it is a worn off dish of some sort.

110. *Sudhana and the sixth Rātridevatā*

This is the only one of the goddesses on these reliefs who does not wear a halo; this is, as can still be seen, only the result of dilapidation. The pavilion in which she sits is not much decorated except on the roof. There are again two angels in the air and trees on both sides of the pavilion; on the left are the women attendants, on the right Sudhana with his retinue, all seated. Sudhana holds a ball-shaped object in his left hand; a small tree stands on his right.

111. *Sudhana and the seventh Rātridevatā*

The goddess, whose face has disappeared, is sitting in her pavilion on a cushion with another at her back and a small oblong something (a flower-stalk?) in her left hand. Trees and angels figure here too, women attendants stand and sit on the left, Sudhana and his escort are standing on the right. As far as we can see, Sudhana here wears no halo, but instead has a crescent behind his head; not as generally seen at the back of the neck, but behind his headdress. It is not possible to discern if there has been anything in his lifted righthand.

112. *Sudhana and the eighth Rātridevatā*

The scene is entirely out of doors, as we see by the trees all over the relief. In the clouds are some angels. The goddess sits in the middle on an undecorated seat under what is little more than an awning held up by poles. She holds a stalk in her left hand on which there has been something, now half knocked off, that looks like the familiar jewel emblem. This may remind us of what the shorter text-summary tells about the goddess Varā shewing jewels to Sudhana, but of course there is no evidence

to prove any connection here [1]). Sudhana sits on the right, his hands folded in sĕmbah, behind him a brahman and then two servants. On the ground behind the tent sit two of the goddesses' women and the scene is here closed in by a massive small building with no ornement on its middle part, but the roof has a decorated cornice with pinnacles at the corners and is crowned with a jewel ornement half of it knocked off.

113. *Buddha and a battle-scene*

This is a very remarkable relief, that is in no way connected with the course of tale given by the text. The actual fact of fighting being depicted is already something noticeable, it being well-known [2]) that as a rule the sculptors avoided all agitating scenes even where the text described them and there was a chance of the course of the tale becoming lost by the omission. The battle on this relief must indeed have great importance in the text, when this rule is swept aside for the sake of representing it. On the right of the relief a Buddha is seated in dhyāna-mudrā on a lotuscushion and lion-throne; the back of it is round with an edge of flames coming out of it, above we see the branches of a tree with an umbrella in its top. In the righthand lower corner are a standing and a seated female worshipper with a flower and a bowl of flowers in their hand. All the rest of the relief is taken up with the battle between two groups of warriors with swords and shields. There seems to be no difference in the uniform and weapons of the two parties. They are fighting fiercely, but the sculptor has been careful not to shew any one being wounded or killed. The fight goes on quite close to the Buddha, but there is nothing to shew any connection between the two parts of the relief, for instance that an attack on his person is being driven off or something of that sort. It is of course also possible that this is a vision of fighting called up by the Buddha to point the moral of his discourse.

114. *Unidentified*

In the centre of the relief is a closed building that resembles the small temples of which so many are found in Java, with a kāla-head above the double-door, a cornice with antefixes and a roof with the familiar crowned pinnacles. Above the building are two angels. On the left is a

[1]) Compare pag. 24 and 42.

[2]) See I p. 235, note 2. We did only meet with battles between the gods and asura's, in the Jātakamālā (I p. 342) and the Māndhātravadāna (I p. 273).

tree with serving-women standing and sitting beneath it. On the right, also under a tree, five men in the dress of distinguished persons are approaching, the front one like the others has no halo, he holds a blue lotus in his hand.

115. *Conversation with a man*

A scene out-of -doors with trees and angels holding flowers and wreaths in the clouds. The relief is worn and damaged here and there, so that we cannot be sure if haloes, now in any case invisible, may originally have adorned the heads of both the chief persons.

The person receiving the visitor, whose headdress is done up in braids, sits on a seat with a back under a tree, with a water jug fixed in a stand made from a branch; he has two seated followers. On the right hand of the relief sits Sudhana, in front of him is an incensory, he has a flower in his hand, and his escort is behind him.

116. *Conversation with a woman*

The possibility of this lady being Gopā has already been discussed on p. 11, though my opinion leans towards the probability of Gopā being found on the following relief. In connection with the remarks on no. 112, there is also the supposition that this might be the goddess Vāsantī, but to begin with she has no halo and then the summary of the text gives the impression that this goddess should appear much earlier in the story. The same can be said about the identification of Varā on no. 112. The lady is seated on an undecorated chair in a pavilion holding a flower (?) in her hand; to the left are her women standing and sitting, on the right sits Sudhana, a flower in his right hand, with his escort under a tree. The stem of this tree is richly adorned and it has a tiara placed on a lotus cushion in the middle of its foliage. Celestial beings are above in the clouds.

117. *Sudhana with Gopā and Māyā*

The two women as mentioned before, are seated together in a pavilion that is decorated with lions and crowned with a cakra; an angel hovers on either side of it. On the left are the usual female attendants under a tree, on the right under another tree, is Sudhana with a couple of attendants. He has no halo on this relief.

118. *Conversation with a man*

Along the top, a row of celestial beings, among them musicians; a tree

on both sides of the pavilion, two on the right. Sudhana is here with his escort on the righthand as usual, now seated with hands folded in sĕmbah, and the retinue of the man in the pavilion are on the left with a brahman sitting in front. The pedestal is decorated with small elephants fronting us. In contrast to Sudhana his host has a halo, he has a tripod in front of him on a stand, but whatever was on the tripod has disappeared.

119. *Conversation with a man*

This pavilion has a curious and remarkable kind of roof-decoration with little human figures and pots or bags of valuables. The man is seated on a plain cushion with his right hand lifted in front of his breast as if preaching, he has a female attendant on each side of him; there is an angel above on each side. On the left is his retinue, all women, above them in the corner we see a small mass of rocks with two deer couched under a tree. Four men dressed like persons of distinction are coming from the right, the front one, who should be Sudhana, has an umbrella over his head and a flower in his hands that are folded in sĕmbah, but like the others he wears no halo. There is a tree in the background.

120. *Sudhana and Surendrābhā*

The pavilion is divided into three niches, and its roof is ornemented with the figures of birds. In the centreniche sits Surendrābhā on a throne, a dish with a lid under the seat; in the lefthand niche two female attendants are seated and next to the pavilion two couples more above each other. Sudhana without a halo, sits with his arms crossed over his breast with an incensory beside him in the righthand niche. To the right of the pavilion is a tree with Sudhana's retinue under it, only one standing, the others seated. Angels right and left in the clouds.

121. *Sudhana and Viçvāmitra*

We now get a different style of building; a separate niche in the centre, with a pĕndåpå, supported by pilasters, adjoining it on each side. Above the centre compartment appear the branches of a tree. The back of the throne rests on small human figures standing on elephant heads and under the seat is a dish with a lid to it and a pile of basins; here sits Viçvāmitra, facing us in dhyāna-mudrā. On the roof of both pĕndåpås are two kinnara's with a flower, fly-whisk and monochord. In the one on the right Sudhana is standing with four attendants

he has no halo and holds out his left hand open in front of him as if to receive something; in the right he has a flower. The other pĕndåpå is filled with Viçvāmitra's retinue, women as well as men, the first standing the latter seated; the front one appears to be a brahman.

122. *Sudhana and Surendra*

The top of the relief is occupied by celestial beings, in whose hands drums, cymbals and the vīṇā instrument are seen. The pavilion is in the centre with Surendra on a throne; on the right, with an incensory beside him and without a halo, is Sudhana, with his escort under a tree behind him, all seated. Another tree is on the left with large jewel-pots next to it, on which a kinnara is perched. Four persons are sitting round the pots, they are evidently guarding the treasure as well as attending on Surendra, especially the one most to the right with a fly-whisk.

123. *Sudhana with Muktasāra*

Sudhana is here still without a halo and remains so till the end of the series; he is sitting with hands folded in sĕmbah, his escort behind him, as usual on the right of the relief. The left part of the relief is taken up by a building with three niches; in the centre one sits Muktasāra on a throne, and in each of the side ones stands a female attendant with a fly-whisk. Above Sudhana and his escort are two masses of cloud, each with a tree and an umbrella in its top. Under the righthand tree stand two kinnara's; above the pavilion hover four angels.

124. *Sudhana and Sivirātra*

The pair of kinnara's are here again on a cloud above Sudhana's head; he sits in his usual place in front of the pavilion with three attendants sitting behind him. On the extreme right under a tree four more distinguished persons are standing, the front one holding a large ball-shaped flower. In the pavilion the brahman sits on an open worked stool (he has been discussed on p. 11); the narrow space beside the pavilion is occupied by a second brahman seated, a pupil standing and an angel above.

125. *Sudhana with Çrīsambhava and Çrīmatī*

On the left of the relief, the young man and maiden are sitting in a double pavilion each on a seat, under the man's seat is a covered dish

and a filled bowl. Between the two compartments of the building is a small human figure, probably a servant of Çrīsambhava, and in the left-hand corner Çrīmatī's female attendant is crouching. Sudhana is approaching on foot with a dwarf umbrella-bearer and five attendants; there is a tree in the back ground on the right. One of the angels overhead seated between two bearded ones, has his hands folded in sĕmbah and another seems to be pouring something out of a spouted vase.

126. *Worship of a building*

The building is in the ordinary temple style with rampant lions on the pedestal and closed double-doors; it stands in the middle of the relief. Angels hover in the clouds. Some women are sitting under a tree; on the right Sudhana kneels before the temple with his hands on the ground in front of his knees and his escort behind him. In the background a tree with a parrot flying towards it and a peacock sitting on its top.

127. *Arrival at Samudrakatīha*

It has already been noted that the temple, here again shewn with closed doors, has a roof decorated with numerous stūpa's. On the right of it seven men are approaching who seem to be of the same well-to-do class; the front one holds up an offering of flowers, he might be Sudhana. On the left stand four female worshippers, the first with a flower in her hands and before them three men in the dress of servants are sitting, the front one holding a censer. Above both groups of figures is a line of clouds and angels doing homage with sĕmbah's and with flowers.

128. *Worshipping Maitreya*

The Bodhisattva is seated in his pavilion in the middle of the relief in the attitude of vajrāsana, on a lotus cushion that is placed on a throne, its pedestal and back ornemented with small lions and human figures; the lions on the back are rampant, resting as usual on the figure of an elephant. Maitreya can be identified by the stūpa in his headdress, he holds the right hand in vara-mudrā and has a flower-stalk in the left. Right and left, in three rows one above the other, the worshippers are arranged, they are all men; as no clouds have been put in except along the roof of the building, we cannot see if any of them are celestial beings, but both top groups and the middle row on the right shew us the musical instruments so often seen in angelic hands; drum, cymbals, flute, bells

and the vīṇā. If Sudhana appears on this relief, he can be no other than the front figure in the bottom row on the left, sitting with hands in sĕmbah. In the left middle row are some nāga's with their snake headdress, but for the rest depicted as ordinary men in the usual way. On the right in the bottom row we see three persons, the front and last one with the thick beard and unkempt hair of yakṣa's; the middle one is a garuḍa with a bird's beak, eyes and wings, but otherwise like a human being.

CHAPTER VIII

MAITREYA AND SAMANTABHADRA

(Third and fourth gallery; chief wall)

The third gallery is dedicated to Maitreya.

"He is the only Bodhisattva", so says Koeppen in his well-known book [1]), "who enjoys an equal popularity among all Buddhist peoples, and his name is mentioned much oftener in the simpler and older sūtra's than that of any other; his image is found on very old buildings and was set up in many different parts of India, often in colossal size, long before the arrival of the Chinese pilgrims. Maitreya is the Buddhist Messiah, and when this became established as an article of faith, it was natural he should come nearer and be more distinct to the community of believers than the earlier Buddha's or the candidates for Buddhaship who would only attain their sanctity after some immeasurable length of time. He is the continuer of Çākyamuni's work, his spiritual heir; his task is to administer the inheritance; the future of the Church is in his hands and every believer is under his protection. To him pious souls turn in hope and expectation for their comfort in sorrow and suffering and their greatest joy and satisfaction would be to meet the all-perfect Buddha in a future reincarnation, to adore him and join the company of his disciples. Through him the harvest now being sown by the individual, shall be reaped and the seed scattered by Gautama bear fruit in abundance. The Bodhi-tree will spread its branches far and wide over the earth, the Church, in spite of all suppression and persecution shall rise victorious and happiness and virtue flourish for ages to come. It cannot be said that Maitreya ever became the actual successor of the founder of the faith who had departed into Nirvāṇa, or was such a leader and ruler of the Church as Avalokiteçvara became later on in the Lama church

[1]) Die Religion des Buddha I (1857) p. 500—502.

so as he still remains, but at any rate it was considered that the extension and prosperity of the Creed was specially under his protection. This belief must already have existed [1]), when Buddhism extended beyond the borders of India, moreover it still exists. We read constantly how with the missions when sending the statue of the "now reigning" Buddha, it was accompanied by that of his successor, whose image was often set up where a new country was being converted. The Chinese pilgrims found a colossal statue on the banks of the Indus on the right hand side of the river, and one of them was told on questioning the natives that according to the oldest tradition, the creed of Buddha had crossed the river when the colossus was erected. To this information he adds these edifying words "So it may be said that the erection of this image gives the date when the exalted Creed began to increase and extend itself. Without the help of the great teacher Maitreya, who could have continued the work of the Çākya and established his law?, who would have been able to spread the knowledge of the three jewels, to bring it to the dwellers of distant lands and teach them the origin of the mysterious wheel of life? Human power could never have achieved this" [2]).

With regard to the series of reliefs on the third gallery, two points must first be settled: first if the chief person here is really meant to be Maitreya and secondly if there is anything to be found in the Maitreya-tales known to us that agrees with what is shewn on the reliefs.

The first question will be discussed later on in Chapt. XII. In my opinion there is no acceptable reason for doubting that the Bodhisattva with the stūpa in his headdress represents Maitreya, the same opinion is stated in the Oudheidk. Rapport of 1910 [3]) and was apparently shared by van Erp [4]). To save repetition, the reader is referred to chapt. XII where the grounds for identification are described [5]). My conclusion is, that at any rate for Java, apart from other possible signs like the nāgapuṣpa-branch that is often omitted or replaced by something else, or the broad band that does not belong only to this Bodhisattva, the stūpa in the headdress is a fast and certain attribute of Maitreya. At the same time we

[1]) For the great age of this Maitreya-expectation, found both in the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, compare Peri in Bull. Ec. franç. d'Extr. Or. 11 (1911) p. 454 sqq.

[2]) The translation compared to that of Beal (Si-yu-ki, 1884, I p. XXX) seems rather free, but this is of little importance to the argument.

[3]) On p. 16.

[4]) Tijdschr. Bat. Gen 54 (1912) p. 427—457.

[5]) The objections to this identification did not convince van Erp either, see Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. 56 (1914) p. 322.

must not expect to find only one particular sort of stūpa of a special shape. On the contrary it everywhere appears that the sculptors not only of different monuments, but of the one Barabuḍur, were allowed perfect freedom in this respect, as their work shews. Stūpa's are to be found of every sort of shape, size and proportion; moreover they are placed in the headdress in all sorts of different ways. But it is always a stūpa; that is the decisive fact.

On page 106 of Vol. I it has already been noticed that on the one relief where Maitreya appears in the Lalitavistara, it happens that he wears no stūpa in his headdress. This phenomenon I think must not be explained by the emblem being unnecessary, i.e. by thinking Maitreya could be recognised as well without his stūpa in the wellknown sacred text there depicted, just as modern archaeologists have been able to identify the relief without the help of this attribute. I consider that however justifiable this argument may be of itself, it is here misplaced when everywhere else on the reliefs the principle is followed of depicting the Bodhisattva's with their distinctive emblem, that it is to say, the attribute which identifies them, their chief emblem, without it being directly necessary. I think the only possible explanation is that Maitreya was considered to have got his distinctive headdress only after the episode in the Tuṣita-heaven that is given on the relief alluded to, that is to say after the Buddha's descent to the earth [1]). It is quite comprehensible that only after the authority of the future Buddha had been passed on to Maitreya, so as the Lalitavistara relief shews us, was there any reason for him to manifest himself in the form which believers began to attribute to him; it was only then he became the chief actor in the various tales assigned to him.

As regards these stories, the fact that the Maitreya of Barabuḍur is depicted exclusively as Bodhisattva in ceremonial dress with the stūpa headdress, never in human shape or in the form of a Buddha, is a clear indication of the direction in which the texts that have been followed must be looked for. Indian texts, so far as they are known to us, give nothing; only the Divyāvadāna has an actual Maitreya-story [2]), which occurs again in other sources and was discussed long ago by Schiefner [3]); it tells about the golden sacrificial post of king Mahāpraṇāda. This is of no importance to Barabuḍur, no more than f.i. the well-known story

[1]) See Chapt. XII.

[2]) Divyāvadāna, no. 3; p. 55—66 in Cowell and Neil's edition.

[3]) Zur Buddhistischen Apokalyptik, Bull. Acad. Imp. de St. Petersburg 20 (1875) p. 379—387; reprinted in Mélanges asiatiques VII (1876) p. 416—428.

of Kāçyapa and the Kukkuṭapāda [1]) and others; scattered episodes, most of them preserved by the Chinese pilgrims [2]). We can expect more from the connected Maitreya-texts that are to be found in the canon of the Chinese church to which the Japanese author, Matsumoto Bunzaburō has given special study in his Miroku jōdo ron [3]), a work we have no access to in the original, but whose contents are known through Peri's excellent review of it [4]).

Matsumoto distinguishes the Mahāyānistic Maitreya texts in five groups, the last of which is the most important to our search. The first group is that where Maitreya is an ordinary disciple of the Buddha, not in any way superior to the others, in the second group he begins to excel his companions and is able to explain a sermon of the Buddha which the rest cannot understand. In the third that consists of one tantra, Maitreya receives from the Buddha a very powerful dhāraṇī and then makes a vow promising when he himself has become a Buddha, to confer the Perfect Wisdom on all such persons who pronounce that same dhāraṇī. In the fourth group, the important part is where the Buddha at Ānanda's request, explains the way in which his fellow-pupil Maitreya has attained such remarkable qualities. Even before Çākyamuni himself, Maitreya had desired to attain the Buddhaship, but the former achieved his aim sooner because he qualified himself for it by many deeds of self-sacrifice, while Maitreya restricted himself to worshipping the Buddha's and praying for the Perfect Wisdom in a prescribed form. Therefore Çākyamuni, who had set himself to protect all living beings and purify the world, became Buddha while mankind still remained in wickedness; Maitreya on the contrary will achieve the same later on when all men have become pure and virtuous. In this way he is looked upon as the future Buddha of a purified world, free from sin.

This last idea is developed in the fifth group, the so-called "six-books of Maitreya", no. 204—209 in Nanjio's Catalogue [5]). My colleague Prof. M. W. de Visser has kindly placed at my disposal a review of its contents

[1]) See Lévi-Chavannes, Les seize arhat protecteurs de la loi, Journ. Asiat. 11 : 18 (1916) p. 196 sq. and de Visser, The Arhats in China and Japan (1923) p. 93: Grünwedel, Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei (1901) p. 124 sq, and the Dutch edition of this monograph p. 527 sq.

[2]) For these tales, consult Beal, Si-yu-ki, I p. L XXVIII; II p. 233—228, 313; the same, A Catena of Buddhist scriptures from the Chinese (1871) p. 140; and Wassiljew, Der Buddhismus (1860) p. 178 (164).

[3]) Published in Tōkyō 1911.

[4]) Bull. Ec. fr. d'Extr. Or. 11 (1911) p. 439—457.

[5]) Bunyiu Nanjio, A Catalogue of the Chinese translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka (1883) p. 61 sq. Compare Lévi-Chavannes, l.l.. p. 14 sq. and 191—193.

and I am able to quote concisely some of his remarks. If these scriptures could furnish a key to the explanation of the reliefs on the third gallery, I should quote the list of contents in extenso. This not being the case, I shall give only a short review that will however be valuable for giving an impression of the nature and character of many of the texts referring to Maitreya.

Nanjio's no. 204 is a sūtra pronounced by the Buddha in answer to the question of Upananda about Maitreya's ascension and rebirth in the Tuṣita-heaven. Maitreya, then living in a brahman family on earth, will die after twelve years to be re-born into the Tuṣita-heaven. There, 500 koṭi's of angels will appear who take off their cintāmaṇi-diadems and promise to sacrifice them to the future Buddha. The diadems then change into 5 million koṭi's of splendid palaces, glittering with the seven jewels on their sevenfold walls that give out 500 koṭi's of rays of light, and in each ray of light are 500 koṭi's of lotus-flowers; each flower changes into 500 koṭi's of trees, and each leaf on every tree has 500 koṭi's of colours, each colour 500 koṭi's of golden dishes, each dish produces 500 koṭi's of celestial women, each woman takes her place under a tree and holds 100 koṭi's of valuables while she makes beautiful music and the trees are laden with magnificent fruit. Five hundred koṭi's of nāga-kings will surround each wall and each king causes 500 koṭi's of trees made of the seven jewels, to descend on the walls. A great Spirit makes a vow to build a Hall of the Law for Maitreya "if my virtues are powerful enough, let pearls appear on my forehead". Then 100 koṭi's of precious stones appear on his forehead and wheeling in the air they are changed into 49 double palaces....

No need to continue the list, it goes on in the same style with angels, celestial music, lotusflowers, jewels etc., in enormous quantities. Five great spirits follow the first who rain down from their body precious stones, flowers, a perfumed sea, cintāmaṇi's and water with flowers in it, one after the other. To another question from Upananda, the answer is a further description of how on Maitreya's arrival in the Tuṣita-heaven, a lion-throne will be changed into a lotus-throne and his ūrṇa shall radiate light. Fifty six koṭi and ten thousand human years he shall stay preaching in heaven and then be born again in Jambudvīpa.

No. 205, sūtra on Maitreya's descent from heaven and his birth on the earth, prophesied by the Buddha in answer to a question asked by Çāriputra. It begins with a description of the future condition of Jambudvīpa that has increased in size by the seas becoming smaller; full of trees, flowers and fruit it is inhabited by wise, virtuous and powerful

people who live to be 84.000 years old. There a great city shall be found, famous for its splendour; a nāga-king at midnight waters it with a gentle shower of rain to keep it clean, a yakṣa guards it and removes all unsightly things. Over this ideal state rules a cakravartin who among his treasures possesses a tower built of seven jewels. Here in this city Maitreya is born of a brahman family with a body perfect in all its parts. There he dwells filled with pity for the beings who are doomed to the saṃsāra; the king comes to him and presents him with the tower which he accepts and divides among the brahmans. This reveals to him the instability of all that exists; he leaves his home and attains the Highest Wisdom under a Nāgapuṣpa-bodhi-tree. Gods and heavenly beings rain down flowers and incense. Then follows a list of all those who come to him and become monk: king and queen, crown prince, ministers etc., each with 84.000 followers. Maitreya preaches the Creed and many attain arhatship. He makes his entry into the city, honoured by the gods with Çakra and Brahmā at their head, by human beings, rāksaṣa's etc., even by Māra. Then Maitreya betakes himself to the Gṛdhrakuṭa and there sees Mahā-Kāçyapa, Çākyamuni's great disciple. After living 60.000 years in the world, he attains the nirvāṇa and the Dharma rules on in the world for another 60.000 years.

No. 206 gives the same, more concisely. Some of the names are a little different; the Buddhaship is not attained immediately, but only after 4 months and 8 days meditation under the Nāgapuṣpa. Young girls to the number of 84.000 lay their ornements at the feet of Maitreya and the monks. He then goes with all the arhats into the city, partakes of food and drink in the palace and preaches there while the night becomes as light as day.

No. 207 gives us very much the same thing, only in stanzas. Maitreya is born into the world while his mother stands under a tree in a park; the presence of Çakra who receives him at birth, the seven steps, the lotus flowers bursting forth under his feet, and the bath given by the nāga's, are all the same as at the birth of Çākyamuni, and other details of his youth shew that this part of the story follows the example of his predecessor. Instead of the tower, it is here a canopy that is presented to him and divided among the brahmans.

No. 208 is also principally the same. The Great Departure takes place at midnight and the Bodhi is attained the same night. In the work of conversion, Maitreya is assisted by Mahā-Kāçyapa, the former pupil of Çākyamuni.

No. 209 again gives the tower as what is divided among the brahmans.

Maitreya subdues four sorts of demons on the night of his journey before he can achieve the Highest Wisdom. The Kāçyapa-episode is given here too: his body is anointed and washed by Brahmā, he ascends into the air, transforms himself several times, expounds one of Çākyamuni's sūtra's and then descends to kneel before Maitreya; finally he returns to his stūpa. To the story of Maitreya's nirvāṇa after a period of 60.000 koṭi's of years on earth, is added the erection of 84.000 stūpa's for his remains by a cakravartin.

Thus far Dr. de Visser's summary [1]). Matsumoto states that among these six books we need only take two of the texts into account; no. 208 for instance can be put aside as being nothing more than the end of the Ekottarāgama-sutra, cap. 44 [2]), 205 is merely a résumé of 209, and 206 is the translation of a résumé of the same original text of which both 209 and 207 are the translation. We have thus on the one side the last-mentioned Mi-lei tch'eng fo king, represented by 209 and 207 with the description of Maitreya's Budhaship and on the other side no. 204, called Mi-lei p'ou-sa chang cheng Teou-chouei t'ien king, with his stay in the Tuṣita-heaven. Apart from this argument, it can be stated that the same difference exists from an iconographical point of view. Quite a different kind of representation may be expected from the eventual rendering of 207— 209 to that of 204.

In the first case the main point is surely Maitreya the B u d d h a; and even when we find striking features from the stories are not given on the reliefs (such as the gift of the stake, or the visit to Kāçyapa) there should at least be some indication of the Buddhaship of the future Saviour. There is no sign of this on the Barabuḍur. Right to the end of the text or texts, Maitreya is shewn distinctly as the Bodhisattva wearing the ceremonial dress of these beings, and not yet even reincarnated as the brahman-son.

What we have before us is undoubtedly everywhere the Bodhisattva before his coming human existence, the Maitreya of the Tuṣitaheaven. As regards this, Barabuḍur agrees with no. 204, and if we should according to a distinction made by Matsumoto, try to define the creed of those who ordered these reliefs to be carved, then we must not reckon them among the people who were looking out with longing for the happy kingdom of Maitreya expected on earth; they are much more likely to belong to those believers whose worship of Maitreya ended in their rebirth into the glory of the Tuṣita-heaven. This desire for Maitreya's

[1]) The same authority also remarks that the seven pieces about Maitreya in the supplement to the Tripiṭaka (35) are all commentaries on no. 204—209.

[2]) Possibly it is there inserted; see Lévi-Chavannes l. l. p. 192.

happy kingdom we see expressed in the stories about Asaṅga and Vasubandhu; Hiuen Tsiang fixed his hopes on the same idea [1]), and ancient remains in China prove the popularity of this belief [2]).

Even if we see the possibility that the founders of the Barabuḍur may have shared these views and though it may be stated that their Maitreya was more the Tuṣita-Bodhisattva than the future Buddha, still text no. 204 with which such views agree, brings us no nearer to an explanation of the reliefs. Nor do we gain any light from some other tales in which the Bodhisattva figures before his expected incarnation; I will here give some account of their contents.

Let us first examine the cases in which Maitreya takes a more or less important place among the Bodhisattva's who are listening to the Buddha while he expounds some point of the creed, or are joining in the discussion. Then it is Maitreya who begins by asking a question about a Mahāsamaja, who takes part in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, who prepares a throne for the Master in the Sugatāvadāna [3]). It is a foregone conclusion that his name belongs among the Bodhisattva's who according to tradition combined in the founding of the Mahāyānistic creed [4]).

Whenever Maitreya's image appears on these occasions, we should of course think to see him depicted in the way he is shewn on the reliefs. But one glance at the reliefs shews us not to expect anything in that direction. Nowhere on this gallery do we find the groups of Bodhisattva's that the above-mentioned texts describe as gathered round the Buddha. On the contrary where Maitreya appears on the reliefs, he himself, alone or with some other person, plays the chief part. Texts must have been represented in which Maitreya was unmistakeably the chief figure.

To continue with the further tales in which this Bodhisattva figures as chief person before his earthly existence begins: these can unfortunately be called nothing better than 'tales' or legends, and are not to be mentioned as texts. What is known to us of this kind is only from separate secondhand sources.

[1]) Julien, Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-thsang (1853) p. 117. For the same early periods compare I-tsing, Mémoire sur les religieux éminents qui allèrent chercher la loi dans les pays d'Occident, trad. Chavannes (1894) p. 72 and 125.

[2]) Peri mentions (p. 447) the pilgrim place Wou-t'ai-chan and the caves of Long Men (Chavannes, Mission archéologique etc. pl. CLXXXIV no. 308).

[3]) Comp. list of contents of these works by Rájendralála Mitra, also Wassiljew l.l. p. 206 (188).

[4]) Wassiljew l.l. p. 291 (264); the same in Tāranātha, Geschichte des Buddhismus, üb. Schiefner (1869) p. 300.

From Tāranātha we hear of someone who sees Maitreya and of another person who receives from this Bodhisattva the order to go to a certain monastery [1]). We also know the story of the learned arhat who through the power of his samādhi was able to leave his body on earth and ascend to the Tuṣita-heaven to converse with Maitreya; he could make effective use of his miraculous power this way whenever questions were put to him that could only be answered by a Bodhisattva [2]). Another arhat, Madhyāntika, by the power of his spirit could actually cause another man to rise into the Tuṣita-heaven; in this case it was the sculptor who had been commissioned to make a statue of Maitreya and was sent up to study his likeness. Three times he ascended to heaven for this purpose and created the masterpiece so much admired by the Chinese pilgrims [3]). There is also the remarkable tale about the image of Buddha in the vihāra near the Bodhi-tree [4]). When this building was finished, sculptors were invited to make a statue of the Buddha, but years went by without any one daring to undertake the work. At last a brahman came and offered himself for the task; he was to be shut up alone in the vihāra with sweetsmelling clay and a lamp and the doors were not to be opened for six months. At the end of four months the priests could no longer restrain their impatience; they went inside the building and found the brahman had disappeared but there was a splendid image of the Buddha seated in the attitude he assumed under the Bodhi-tree, only a part above the right breast was left unfinished. They saw that a miracle had taken place, but could not understand the manner of it. In the night, a vision came to one of the çramaṇa's who dwelt there; the brahman appeared to him and told him he was the Bodhisattva Maitreya who had come himself to do what no earthly sculptor could perform. Filled with gratitude, the monks covered up the unfinished spot with a necklace. In the rest of story that relates the adventures of the image at the cutting down of the Bodhi-tree, Maitreya plays no part.

On the reliefs we find nothing that could in any way be connected with the legends here mentioned, and there is no sign of arhats or sculptors, but there is one story that should be discussed separately, not only

[1]) l.l. p. 245 (192) and 139 (108).

[2]) Beal, l.l. p. 227 sq; Edkins, Chinese Buddhism (1880) p. 79. Also Beal, Abstract of four lectures on Buddhist literature in China (1882), p. 16 sq. and 22. A similar story by Lévi-Chavannes, l.l. p. 43.

[3]) Beal, Si-yu-ki I p. XXIX (Fa Hian), 134 (Hiuen Tsiang).

[4]) l.l. II p. 119—121. I shall refer again to this tale in chapt. X.

[5]) Kern, Geschiedenis van het Buddhisme in Indië II (1884), p. 413.

because it is the most wide-spread and best-known Maitreya legend, but it is the only one about which there is any possiblity suggested (in the above-quoted article by van Erp), of its being represented on the reliefs. I mean the tale told about Asaṅga.

Not so very long ago it would have been considered impossible to connect Asaṅga with the Barabuḍur because of the short period intervening between the death of this father of the church and the erection of the sanctuary; for it was accepted generally that he lived in the 6th century of our era. It did not seem likely that in so short a period, tradition could have invested him with sufficient sanctity to become the subject of an authentic text for the use of the founders of the Barabuḍur. But later research has discovered that Asaṅga and his brother Vasubandhu must have lived much earlier; according to the date of their works being translated into the Chinese, Takakusu fixes the career of Vasubandhu at about 420—500 A.D. [1]); Wogihara draws attention to the fact that one of Asaṅga's writings must have been translated already between 414 and 421 [2]), and Peri even came to the conclusion that Vasubandhu, who outlived his brother several years, must have died about 350 [3]), a conclusion that now seems to be shared by Takakusu [4]).

Asaṅga is the founder of the Mahāyānistic Yogācāra-school and the tale in question is written to prove the supernatural origin of the principles of that sect. Its origin falls in a period too late for being ascribed to the Buddha's own words, so that its principal writings are not considered to belong to the famous redaction of the holy scriptures after the death of the Master, which according to the Mahāyānistic church, saints and Bodhisattva's helped to collect. The sanctity of the new sect had to be assured in some other way than going back to Buddha himself or to the collectors and editors of the oldest Creed. It can be understood that when the old Buddha was of no avail, they would first think of the new Buddha and ascribe the creed of the Yogācāra to the intervention of Maitreya. The story that is possibly depicted on the Barabuḍur, is without further details, this, that Asaṅga received the creed preached by him, direct from Maitreya, not on earth, but in the Tuṣita-heaven whither he had ascended in the night and where he was received by the Bodhisattva in person [5]).

[1]) A study of Paramārtha's life of Vasubandhu, Journ. Roy. As. Soc. 1905 p. 33—53.

[2]) Asaṅga's Bodhisattvabhūmi, ein dogmatischer Text der Nordbuddhisten (1908) p. 14.

[3]) A propos de la date de Vasubandhu, Bull. Éc. franç. d'Extr. Or. 11 (1911) p. 384.

[4]) Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc. 1914 p. 1013.

[5]) To Asaṅga's story see Sylvain Lévi in the Introduction to this Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra-edition, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des hautes Etudes, no. 190 (1911) p. *1—*7.

It may seem rather strange that after the life of the Buddha, the sacred tradition of ancient times and the Gaṇḍavyūha that also belongs to the sphere of mysticism, we should suddenly be brought down to the merely historic adventures of a father of the church who though probably very famous, could not be placed on a level with Buddha and the Bodhisattva's. But we need not expect to find the career of an historic personage here depicted. We must consider the question whether Asaṅga, the "Bodhisattva" Asaṅga of course, has not been raised out of the earthly church-history; just as tradition once brought him into the Tuṣita-heaven, he likewise in later texts may have been given a chief place in mystic events of a higher sort. These texts may give therefore not the earthly career of Asaṅga but possibly the figure of Asaṅga translated into another sphere. This is quite credible because there are indications that connect the Buddhism of Barabuḍur with the creed of the Yogācāra's and to this I shall refer in the last chapter.

Van Erp's supposition that Asaṅga appears on the third gallery, is founded chiefly on *one* relief, no. 56. There we see Maitreya seated in a pavilion, plainly recognisable by his stūpa headdress. On the left of the building are his followers, in the clouds are angels; on the right sits an eminent man with a halo and his retinue, evidently in conversation with the Bodhisattva. This is all quite in the usual style of so many reliefs on this gallery. What is remarkable is the very large book in the shape of a kropak that Maitreya holds in his hands resting on his knee. We might think this book to be the Yogācāryabhūmiçāstra, then of course the figure sitting on the right would be Asaṅga and the scene represent the Bodhisattva handing over that sacred writing to the teacher.

We might easily be tempted in this way to recognise it as the book which plays such an important part in the well-known story. But there is one obvious objection; is it possible to think that a father of the church, the great scholar, founder of a new sect, would be depicted in worldly dress like the person on the relief? Is it not imperative that he should appear dressed like a monk, such as we see him in Tibetan art? Surely the portrait, that is quite conventional, reproduced by Grünwedel, has no historic value but according to the same author, Japanese art has also preserved a traditional Asaṅga-portrait that dates from the 8th century and shews evident signs of the Gandhāra school[1]). This latter would prove that an Asaṅga type existed already in the art of the Indian motherland. On the other side it is possible that the type had

[1]) Mythologie p. 35 and plate 27.

been borrowed from Gandhāra long before the name of Asaṅga was given to it. Still in the first place the objection must be put aside because not only, as we have seen, does the later literature speak of the "Bodhisattva" Asaṅga, but in agreement with what is mentioned above, it is not the father of the church, but exclusively the Bodhisattva we must expect to see here depicted.

However it may be, it is a fact, that the adjacent reliefs shew us very little that can be connected with the Asaṅga-tales such as we know them [1]), for instance the entire absence of bhikṣu's compels us not to seek for any incidents in the earthly career of the great scholar. Even just next to no. 56 we encounter such difficulties as the appearance on nos. 55 and 58 of a Buddha who is not mentioned anywhere in the legend; while on no. 56 itself there is nothing to shew that Maitreya intends to hand over to his worshiper the book he is holding, and the book itself is nowhere else to be seen.

Taking everything into consideration, it must be stated that even if there is no fundamental objection to considering no. 56 as a conversation between Maitreya and Asaṅga, yet nothing appears in the surrounding reliefs to confirm the supposition, so that so far I am not able to agree with it.

For the present we must restrict our examination to what can be seen on the reliefs themselves.

* * *

For want of other necessary data, our review of the relief-series on the 3rd gallery chief wall, must entirely depend on outward appearances. We see to begin with that the series consists of three parts, first a short one in which, with only one exception, Maitreya appears consecutively (no. 1—9), then a part reaching about halfway down the gallery in which this Bodhisattva does not appear at all (no. 10—39) and finally another part that consists of more than half the series, where Maitreya appears almost without interruption as chief person (no. 40—88). It will be understood that such division of the series does not in the least imply that the text represented must have been arranged in three parts in a similar manner, I do it only to make our examination easier. If one complete text has been followed, we can explain it by saying that the reliefs indicate that in the whole series representing the Maitreya-

[1]) Discussed more fully in the Dutch edition p. 533—535.

story (no. 1—88), an important episode is depicted in which the Bodhisattva plays no part (no. 10—39).

Before examining these three sections, another possibility must be taken into consideration namely, that the beginning of the third gallery might be the continuation of what we see on the chief wall of the second gallery. It appeared that the Gaṇḍavyūha there depicted on the reliefs, ended with Sudhana's visit to Maitreya, though the review of contents of the text we are acquainted with, has something more to tell about his adventures i.e. that Sudhana goes from Maitreya to Mañjuçrī and then to Samantabhadra from whom at last he receives the Highest Wisdom.

On entering the third gallery, we see first of all nine reliefs on which with one exception Maitreya appears in conversation with an eminent man accompanied by his retinue, the same sort of person who on the second gallery represented Sudhana. We might therefore consider that relief 1—9 in connection with II 128, gives this person's conversations with Maitreya; by which only no. 6 and 7, where Maitreya does not appear, represent some episode unknown to our summary of contents. On no. 10 we then find the same man taking a journey in a palanquin and treated in exactly the same manner as Sudhana is shewn on his peregrinations in the former gallery. No. 11 remains unidentified, but on no. 12 the so-called Sudhana is seated respectfully adoring a figure sitting on a lotuscushion, in all probability a Bodhisattva; this person has a crescent behind his head. As we shall see later, this is an attribute bestowed specially upon Mañjuçrī among the Bodhisattva's. Though it is possible others may wear it and though the figure in question bears none of Mañjuçrī's other emblems, it is not at all impossible that this Bodhisattva seated on a lionthrone — the lion too belongs to Mañjuçrī — actually represents this Bodhisattva. If we again pass over three unidentified reliefs, we find, beginning with no. 16, on three consecutive scenes (perhaps even four, the emblem on no. 19 has disappeared) our chief person in front of a Bodhisattva who is distinguished by the attribute of a branch with three (or four) buds, the same figure who is the hero of the fourth gallery, already conjectured to be Samantabhadra and whose identity I shall discuss later on. If this proves correct, then we get scenes where our chief person interviews first Maitreya, then (perhaps) Mañjuçrī and finally Samantabhadra, thus exactly in the same sequence the Gaṇḍavyūha relates Sudhana's last journeys.

This conclusion is rather surprising. Is it possible the Gaṇḍavyūha text is continued? On the one side it may be remarked that from ancient

times the end of the Gaṇḍavyūha, the glorification of Samantabhadra known as Bhadracarī, held an important place among the sacred writings of the Mahāyāna[1]); on the other hand, it seems the most probable thing that a new text should begin with a new gallery; and less likely that the Gaṇḍavyūha should suddenly break off at relief no. 19 or 20 and something else begin. It is quite a different thing when the whole series of reliefs might be considered as the continuation of the Gaṇḍavyūha, a possibility I shall discuss at the end of this chapter. Let us now first finish the review of the reliefs.

The first nine scenes give in substance: Maitreya being worshipped by and conversing with the chief male person of the story who wears a halo; besides this one, there is occasionally a second figure in the dress of a distinguished person but without a halo. The Bodhisattva is to be recognised everywhere by his stūpa, except on relief no. 1 where the headdress has been knocked off, but all the same it seems to be the same person. On four of the nine reliefs (no. 2, 3, 4, and 9) an elephant appears. Then again on five consecutive reliefs (no. 3—7) there is a temple. On no. 3 and 5 this building is placed next to the scene of Maitreya and his worshipper but without actual connection; on no. 4 however we see Maitreya himself going towards the building with his worshipper following him. Finally the two temple-reliefs no. 6 and 7 are the only ones where the worshipper alone, not the Bodhisattva appears; on no. 6 he is mounting the steps of the building and on no. 7 is seated respectfully in front of it.

With no. 10 begins the second part of the series, the episode without Maitreya. This relief shews as already stated, the chief figure travelling in a palanquin. He is followed as well, strange to say, by an elephant, not caparisoned, wearing only a cloth, and the same animal appears again on no. 11. The connection of the episode that begins on no. 10, with the preceding and following reliefs might very well be that on no. 9 Maitreya gives some advice or command to his worshipper who then starts on a journey beginning on no. 10, meets with the adventures depicted in this episode, and returns finally to Maitreya on no. 40.

It is not very clear how no. 11 fits into this story. The man seated in the high pavilion wears neither the halo nor the headdress of the hero of the tale, he is talking to a bearded person and the rest of the scene shews a building, a fruit-tree and attendants sitting on the ground. No. 12 has

[1]) See Watanabe, Die Bhadracarī, Eine Probe Buddhistisch-religiöser Lyrik (1912), especially p. 10 sq.

already been discussed; the chief person, clearly recognisable again, is paying homage to a Bodhisattva with a crescent behind his head. Then on no. 13 he is sitting before a temple [1]). The next scene shews us a Buddha seated on a lotuscushion in a pavilion in the middle of the relief; on the right, with hands folded in sĕmbah a man, the chief person evidently, is sitting with his retinue; on the left, also with attendants, is a Bodhisattva. We can decide this from the fact that this eminent person who has a halo is seated on a lotuscushion; the stalk he is holding in his right hand has three bud-shaped flowers at the top of it between two leaves, probably the same thing as the stem with buds we see two reliefs further on, where the so-called Samantabhadra appears. The intermediate relief no. 15 gives a conversation between a distinguished man who has a halo, sitting with a lady in a pavilion and a brahman(?); the elephant appears again in this scene. After reliefs 16—18 shewing intercourse between our chief person (who wears no halo on no. 17) and the budbearing Bodhisattva, probably Samantabhadra, then comes no. 19 where as we have noticed the figure seated on the lion throne holds a still-visible stalk, though we cannot see if it ends in the three buds.

From no. 20 to the end of this portion comes a series best described as a pilgrimage in which the chief person visits various sacred buildings, each of a distinct style and distinguished by some peculiarity that attracts attention. On the first relief, where the elephant is also to be found, we see a high stambha on each side of the building, one bearing the trident of Çiva and the other the winged shell of Viṣṇu. There are flowers on the steps and bells are hanging in the door and windows on no. 21, while on no. 22 a smaller building is hung all over with another sort of bells [2]). No. 23 is one of the few scenes where no architecture appears; the chief person is conversing with a brahman and above them hangs a most artistic design of rosettes, wreaths and garlands. The same kind of decoration appears along the top of no. 24, where the building is loaded with lotus and other flowers. Then come three temples distinguished respectively by incensories (no. 25), flower-vases (no. 26) and mirrors (no. 27) as decoration, not only on the building but in the air as well. The temple on no. 28 has a shell on a small stand, it has triçūla's on the roof and in the air are flowers, a tortoise on a pedestal and other objects. Then come two reliefs without any building: on the first (no. 29) the

[1]) This kind of temple with a façade in two storeys is also found in reality; see Tjandi Morangan, depicted in Rapp. Oudh. Comm. 1903 pl. 38 no. 10.

[2]) Compare the object in the middle of the temple with I b 50.

chief person is sitting on the ground with some followers, while cloths and garments are falling from the clouds; on the second (no. 30) he is seated in front of a miraculous tree with large bell-shaped fruit. Further on we get visits to buildings, with enormous banners (no. 31), lion ornement (no. 32) and banana-plant decoration (no. 33). On no. 34 seven persons are sitting in a pavilion-like building, there is a Bodhisattva image put into the front of the roof and above it flower vases are hovering; in front of these men the chief figure sits with a blue lotus in his hand. Then follows another series of temples, one with birds on the roof, jewels and more birds in the air (no. 35), the next with lotuses, inside the temple in a vase, as decoration, and also floating in the air (no. 36); then one with globe-shaped objects in the same way on the temple façade and on top of the building (where there are two peacocks as well), beside this they hover in the air (no. 37). It is not quite clear what these objects are, they look most of all like enormous pearls. The building on no. 38 is very curious, there is a lotuspond on each of its three storeys; then comes finally no. 39 with a very wide temple with two wings, in the middle a flowervase, stūpa ornements on the roof and flowers in the air.

On no. 40 the chief person is again sitting in front of Maitreya, this is the beginning of the third part in which the Bodhisattva continually appears. More than half the reliefs shew us nothing but conversations between Maitreya and the chief person, with or without other important hearers and though the sculptors have done their best to introduce some variety by different grouping, attitude and gesture, the repetition as van Erp remarks [1]), becomes rather tiresome, "we get the impression" he says, "as if the sculptor had received orders to fill up the remaining panels with the contents of a certain chapter". Indeed such appears to be the case, though we must remember that the artist was perhaps no less restricted by the contents of his text that may possibly have consisted of an interminable chain of similar discourses. There are not many examples of such monotonous repetition to be found in the world's literature as what some of the Buddhist scriptures give us.

It is not worth while here to examine these conversation scenes more closely or to discuss the identity of Maitreya, where his headdress is missing or worn away. For further details I refer the reader to the description of the reliefs of the whole gallery in the Dutch edition [2]). We shall restrict ourselves to the scenes that for some reason or other

[1]) l.l. p. 450.

[2]) See page 542—560.

specially attract attention, i.e. those which appear to offer most assistance for later indentification of the text followed.

To begin with, no. 44 that depicts Maitreya's charity. The top of the relief is filled in with clouds and the Bodhisattva stands distributing from two basins, one filled with moneybags, the other with rings, carried behind him by his attendants. The receivers of his bounty are kneeling and standing with open hands before him; on the extreme right stands the second chief figure holding a lotus stalk in his hand, watching the proceedings. Then follows a scene in which three men richly-dressed with a halo, are kneeling before a Buddha who sits in a small pavilion, their headdres is formed of locks of hair (one of them unfortunately has lost his head and headdres); here too the spectator stands away on the right richly-dressed with a suitable headdress, he has a flower in his hand and wears a halo.

On no. 47 Maitreya's curious attitude attracts our notice. He stands in his pavilion between two incensories, with his hands clasped against his breast, but he is standing on his left leg with the right lifted up and the foot held in front of his left thigh; the usual worshippers and attendants are on both sides of the building. This extremely uncomfortable attitude is evidently a penitential one, though the Bodhisattva's appearance is otherwise as usual, not like that of a tapasvin.

It may be of some importance in connection with the kropak-relief discussed above, that on relief no. 49, one of the attendants of the worshipper who is turning towards Maitreya, carries an oblong parcel that looks like two kropaks fastened together, while on the other side of Maitreya two of his four followers are holding palmleaves. On the next relief we see the Bodhisattva on a journey; he is walking behind an elephant whose howdah is filled with trays of flowers and wreaths, or possibly food, the animal is surrounded by men with banners and musical instruments. The spectator sits in the right hand corner, looking on. No. 51 shews Maitreya doing homage to a Buddha seated in a pavilion with some bhikṣu's near him. After several reliefs of the usual sort (homage to Maitreya), we get another Buddha on no. 55, but as the chief worshipper's headdress is missing, it is not possible to decide if this is the Bodhisattva himself or someone else. There are a couple of bhikṣu's on this relief too. The next scene is the already discussed no. 56, Maitreya with the large book resting on his hands.

The fourth and last Buddha relief of this series is no. 58; the Buddha is seated in the middle of the scene with Maitreya and the second chief-person doing him homage, they are kneeling one on each side of him with

their followers. Among the scenes that now follow there are several on which the Bodhisattva does not appear, they shew nothing but a conversation between two distinguished men wearing haloes. On no. 59, one of them, the one receiving the visit, is certainly a king as we see by four of the seven royal jewels behind the pĕndåpå in which the monarch sits; there is the horse, the elephant, the disk and the gem. The three others are missing or now indiscernible; we can hardly imagine them to be recognisable in the female figure standing behind the king as queen, and the minister and general among the seated attendants.

The two last reliefs of this episode, before Maitreya appears again continually, are also worth attention. In the middle of no. 65 is the pavilion where the two chief persons are sitting; to the left is a second pĕndåpå decorated with cakra and triçūla's in which a couple of female dancers are displaying their skill. A bearded man is conducting the performance and in the corner behind him are the musicians. Notice the number of kinnara's in the air. On no. 66 we find the two chief figures again with their haloes; the one who has come to visit the other, is holding a sort of disk on the palms of his hands, either shewing it or about to present it.

Beginning with no. 67 we return to the real Maitreya-reliefs. On no. 68 we see the Bodhisattva seated as usual in his pavilion, his usual chief-worshipper on the right with attendants, but on the left are three other persons in a separate pĕndåpå, all three are well-dressed and wear a halo; the front one makes a sĕmbah, the middle one holds a blue lotus. The three rows of figures sitting one above the other are remarkable: the bottom row, five men with thick beard and curled locks of hair, have the appearance of yakṣa's. Several in the upper rows have gifts in their hands; they wear beards too but their hair-dressing is more sober; however those holding gifts must perhaps be considered as the servants of the five eminent yakṣa's in the bottom row.

The next relief (no. 69) takes us into hell. Maitreya is seated on the extreme left in a pavilion ornemented with triçūla's; on the right is our spectator with his retinue. In the middle, we see the hell; the tree whose leaves are swords [1]) and beneath a large iron cauldron with the fire under it. Some victims are standing near appealing to Maitreya for help, by the way they lift up their feet, they seem to be standing on something that hurts them; this part of the relief is rather worn away. A couple of hell-fiends stand behind them and a third is sitting at the foot of a throne on

[1]) Comp. for this, I p. 69; relief O91, cauldrons O89.

wich sits an man with a halo in full dress. This person in authority, with the cudgel beside him, will probably be Yama, the king of hell.

Maitreya's exercise of charity is the subject of the next relief no. 70. On the right and left is a building, before the one on the right the spectator and his retinue are sitting; the lefthand building is closed, on each side of the door is a niche with a female figure in it holding a fly-whisk. The roof-decoration of stūpa's is perhaps intended to shew that this is a temple palace for Maitreya. Separated from the spectator by a wall, we see a group of miserable starving creatures, probably preta's, being fed by the Bodhisattva, who stands in front of them distributing large balls of what is probably rice, at least the dinner tables on the reliefs in the first gallery shew rice prepared in the same way. The wall is continued over the heads of the poor people, that is of course behind them, and according to the trees and mountains that appear above and at the side of the wall, the scene must be in a mountain forest.

No. 71 has a similar setting and gives us Maitreya preaching to the animals, of course in the presence of the indispensable spectator, who stands with his attendants on the extreme right while from the clouds above jewel pots are showering down valuables. The Bodhisattva seated in a pavilion is surrounded by animals, most of them in pairs; lions, tigers, deer, horses, elephants, sheep, several kinds of cattle, goats, pigs, a hare and a monkey. Above them is a design of rocks with trees in the traditional style and a peacock, a pair of doves and parrots. This relief is one of the few in this gallery that is thought to be identified [1]); the animals are then praying Maitreya for rain and on no. 73 he gives the order for it to Indra. This explanation has no real foundation and I think is not very successful; not only should we expect to see the rain, if it was so important to the story, falling down in some of the following reliefs, but Indra, or in agreement with these Buddhist texts, we should call him Çakra, appears nowhere else on the monument to have any connection with the rainfall. Moreover the attitude of Maitreya and the animals on the relief itself, does not confirm this explanation; in my opinion the sculptor has been most successful in shewing the Bodhisattva preaching and the animals listening. I think it very likely that no. 69—71 are closely connected and we have here the Bodhisattva consecutively, in hell, with the preta's, and among the animals, shewing his sympathy. Then we find Maitreya on no. 72 in conversation with two men wearing haloes and a third who is evidently

[1]) By Jochim in Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. 55 (1913) p. 205.

the faithful spectator. No. 73 is the one alluded to above, where Çakra appears. He approaches in the ordinary dress of eminent persons, has a halo and holds a flower in each hand, and for himself would never be recognised as the king of heaven. But here, as elsewhere when we have no text, he can be indentified by his attendant with the angkuça in his hand, the elephant trunk in his headdress and the elephant ears (here not very distinct); we have seen him so often and his name is Airāvata. The man towards whom the god is turning is not very clearly to be recognised on the photo as Maitreya, but van Erp considers it not doubtful [1]).

On no. 74 the Bodhissattva is discoursing with five nāga's and on no. 75 the audience has become larger. On the left we see consecutively two eminent men, two nāga's and a yakṣa; on the right again a yakṣa, a garuḍa, still recognisable though his beak is damaged, and a man of high rank, the spectator probably, with an attendant. The distinguished men sitting on the left have very richly-adorned headdresses and ornements out of the common, so that probably they are not ordinary human beings but some sort of gods or divine persons. Celestials and kinnara's in the clouds add to the varied character of the public.

Beginning with the next relief till the end of the series, the Bodhisattva is generally to be found discoursing with or worshipped, not by *one* person, but a number of distinguished men besides the usual spectator standing or seated on the right of the scene. These men vary in number and costume, sometimes they have haloes and sometimes not; we cannot be sure they are the same and might indeed think it very improbable, if we did not remember the liberties taken by sculptors with clearly identified texts. All through these scenes, it is very evidently to them the Bodhisattva addresses his conversation, and occasionally we might look upon them as attendants though very magnificent ones; however a retinue of Tuṣita-gods would not be unsuitable for Maitreya. On most of the reliefs we see plainly that these people undoubtedly play a part in the story and are by no means subordinates.

On nos. 85 and 87 an elephant again appears, both times in the "spectator's" retinue. The last relief no. 88 shews no more secondary figures. We see the Bodhisattva standing among some trees, his hands folded in sĕmbah; behind him kneels another figure with a halo, surely the man of next importance in the story, who played the part of worshipper and spectator. He kneels on his left knee and raises his hands in sĕmbah holding a flower between them. A couple of attendants are sitting behind him.

[1]) l.l. p. 446.

Thus ends the series with an act of homage, not only by the second in chief, but by Maitreya as well. For what is it intended? Possibly we have here a repetition of what we saw in the second gallery where the last relief more or less points towards the beginning of the third. Where else should the respectful homage of the Bodhisattva be directed to; to whom could it be more suitable than the many Buddha's on the remarkable scenes with which the fourth gallery begins?

If we compare the reliefs on the *chief wall of the fourth gallery* with those of the preceding one, there appears at once a great resemblance and a great difference, which we shall do well to discuss before beginning our examination. The similarity is, that like Maitreya in the third gallery, one particular Bodhisattva plays chief part through the whole tale: he is distinguished by a stem with three buds at the top of it. The difference is, that many Buddha's appear on the same relief either with or without Bodhisattva's.

Let us first give our attention to the latter peculiarity because it is the cause of the only attempt that we know of to explain what is here represented. I allude to what Foucher gives in his article "Le "grand miracle" du Buddha à Çrâvastî" [1]).

It is hardly necessary to quote Foucher's whole argument, a summary will suffice. The importance in a canonical sense, of the mahāpratihārya of Çrāvastī is indisputable, the Divyāvadāna in particular gives the oldest and most elaborate account of the miracles by which Çākyamuni on that occasion overcame his rivals, the six sect-leaders [2]). The important points are as follows. After a few preliminary small miracles and a warning to all others, cleric or laymen, not to shame the Tīrthya's by any show of supernatural power, the Buddha at king Prasenajit's repeated request, performs consecutively two kinds of miracles; first he exhibits what is technically called the yamaka-pratihārya that consists of walking about in the air in various attitudes causing flames or streams of water to appear alternately out of his upper or lower limbs; secondly, he multiplies figures of himself, from earth up to the heavens and in all directions, who then preach the Creed. A violent thunderstorm caused by the yakṣa-king, completes the downfall of the heterodox. Multitudes of people are converted to the True Creed.

[1]) Journ. asiat. 10 : 13 (1909) p. 5—78.

[2]) Divyâv. XII. Translated by Burnouf, Introduction à l'histoire du bouddhisme indien (1844) p. 162 sqq. For the story itself see Kern, Gechiedenis van het Buddhisme in Indië I (1882) p. 143—153.

We should naturally expect that the yamaka-pratihārya, being the most original and picturesque of the two miracles, would appeal most to the sculptors for an edifying scene when representation was required, but as Foucher demonstrates, the sculptured art, with only one exception, selects the second, the preaching by innumerable figures of Buddha, to represent the Great Miracle of Çrāvastī. The reason of this Foucher, in my opinion very rigtly, considers to be, that according to the texts the yamaka-pratihārya had become rather common; it is ascribed not only to the Buddha in three other occasions but we find it related as being performed by a Pratyekabuddha, a monk, nuns and a converted son of a banker, and even by relics of the Master. It could therefore no longer be considered sufficient to represent distinctly the Great Miracle of Çrāvastī. It was quite a different thing with the multitude of preaching Buddha's, a miracle which, as recorded, was only possible for a Buddha or the gods. Added to this, the texts themselves shew a certain tendency to mix up the two kinds of miracle and put the second in the foreground.

By means of some secondary figures mentioned in the texts and represented on the reliefs. Foucher has most ingeniously succeeded in identifying the Great Wonder of Çrāvastī in a number of divergent sculptures spread over a period of twelve centuries and extending from Ajaṇṭā into China. Without regarding the less important details which sometimes appear and are sometimes omitted, the criterion for indentification in general is the appearance of numerous Buddha's performing the same act, while a particular lakṣana consists in the lotus plants rising from the water or the ground, with Buddha's seated on their flowers.

The importance of this lakṣana in the cases, where not the many Buddha's but only the one preaching Çākyamuni with secondary figures is depicted we will not discuss here, whatever its value may be for the question as a whole; on Barabuḍur it is the numerous Buddha's, not the single one, we have to deal with. Wherever the repetition of Buddha's is found, they may be supposed, according to Foucher, to depict nothing but the Great Miracle. I will add a quotation from his own words [1]).

"Nous n'avons pas affaire, comme on pensait, à de simples débauches d'imagerie pieusement décorative: il y faut reconnaître des représentations sur une vaste échelle, en raison de la place dont disposait l'artiste, du "grand miracle" de Çrâvastî. Aussi bien est-ce là, si l'on y songe, la seule façon orthodoxe d'expliquer la présence simultanée de

[1]) Taken from p. 19 of the article mentioned.

plusieurs Buddhas sur un même tableau, alors qu'une loi absolue veut qu'il n'y en ait jamais plus d'un seul à la fois dans chaque système de monde.

"Il s'ensuit que nous devons dès l'abord soupçonner l'existence de ce motif chaque fois nous serons en présence de multiples images de Buddha — non point, à vrai dire, là où elles sont isolées dans des cadres distincts, ou simplement juxtaposées, mais là où elles sont visiblement associées dans une même action".

It becomes evident if we accept this conclusion that the many Buddha's whom we find on the fourth gallery on lotus cushions, taking part in the same action again and again, are depicting the Great Miracle of Çrāvastī. On this point Foucher is unusually positive. "Nous n'hésiterons pas" he says [1]) "en rapprocher" (sc. des spécimens de Bénarès et d' Ajaṇṭâ) "malgré le temps et la distance, les nombreux groupes qui décorent le mur principal de la plus haute galerie sculptée de Boro-Boudour (IXe siècle). Toute cette paroi est à peu près couverte de variations sur le thème du "grand miracle" de Çrâvastî, et cette profusion de répliques se justifie assez par l'énorme surface que les sculpteurs du monument avaient reçu la tâche de décorer." And further on: "Cette réduplication symétrique de Buddhas supportés par des lotus et encadrés de divinités suffit pour établir non seulement l'indéniable parenté des écoles, mais l'identité foncière des sujets".

With every respect for Foucher's otherwise convincing argument, I think that as far as Barabuḍur is concerned it is not acceptable. Let us first consider the secondary criterion. Lotus cushions on this monument can have no special significance; they are to be found, as the most superficial glance proves, nearly all over the sanctuary where a Buddha appears, for instance repeatedly in the indentified story of the historic Buddha on the first gallery, therefore in cases where it is absolutely proved what the subject depicted is, and where the miracle of Çrāvastī is quite out of the question. There still remains the "lotus à tige", the lotus cushion that rests on a stalk, just as it is often found on the representations of the "Great Miracle" in Further India. There is nothing to be learned from this on the Barabuḍur. I shall state two points. First, that just on this first part of the fourth gallery that should depict the Great Miracle, nearly all the lotuscushions are ordinary ones, very seldom on stalks. In the second place, that cushions on stalks are found in places where there is no suggestion of the Great

[1]) Pag. 23.

Miracle, not only in the surroundings, but in the subject itself that is represented. We can for instance recall among the reliefs on the chief wall of the second gallery, a Buddha that appears on such a "lotus à tige" between four Bodhisattva's seated in the same way (no. 74) and another Buddha sitting on a similar raised cushion being worshipped by one man with several women (no. 75). Even if my identification of the Gaṇḍavyūha should not be accepted as the complete text depicted on this chief wall, it must be acknowledged that the reliefs mentioned, considered separately, cannot possibly be connected with the Great Miracle of Çrāvastī. The lakṣana of the lotuscushion as far the Barabuḍur is concerned, must be rejected as such.

Then as regards the second criterion, the appearance of many Buddha's on the same scene, I am not able to see any proof of this either. On another series of reliefs, the second half of the balustrade of this same gallery, there are several scenes representing the worshipping of two, three or four Buddha's sitting next to each other, sometimes all placed in a pëndåpå (no. 46) or in solid niches (no. 62, 83, 84), once even in the rocks (no. 54) and therefore excluding all possible connection with the Great Miracle of Çrāvastī which takes place in the air; while moreover the other persons present shew resemblance to those on the adjacent reliefs without Buddha's, but not to the public present at Çrāvastī as the text describes them. Taking all this into consideration, I think we cannot avoid the conclusion that on the Barabuḍur, the appearance of numerous Buddha's on one scene is no proof whatever that the Great Miracle of Çrāvastī is represented. Yet according to Foucher, as quoted above, this is the only orthodox way of accounting for the simultaneous appearance of many Buddha's, because a fixed law declares there shall be no more than one at a time in each universe. There is actually no contradicting this argument. It depends only on what meaning we give to the word "orthodox", where is orthodox to end and heterodox to begin; between the various phases of Buddhism, it is a very difficult task to fix the limit. Yet because we actually find scenes on the balustrade of this gallery in which numerous Buddha's appear without it being possible to connect them with the miracle of Çrāvastī, it follows that Foucher's law does not reach as far as he thinks. Judged by his rule for orthodox Buddhism, we should have to consider the Buddhism of Barabuḍur to be unorthodox. On the other hand if Barabuḍur is to be reckoned among the orthodox monuments then the rule laid down by Foucher will not hold. In any case what proves to be inapplicable to what is depicted on the balustrade of the

fourth gallery, cannot be used for the chief wall of the same gallery. That these scenes with the many Buddha's *must* represent the mahāpratihārya of Çrāvastī only because of the numerous Buddha's, is not acceptable.

Another question is if they *could*, and if there are perhaps other data that might incline us to accept this possibility. Nowhere can we find the two nāga's Nanda and Upananda, who according to the text of the Divyāvadāna, cause the lotus to appear and on several of the scenes reproduced by Foucher, are holding the stalk of it. Nowhere is any sign of the teachers of false creeds that are found at Ajaṇṭā. Nowhere do we find at the side of the Buddha, as we see in other representations of the Great Miracle, either Brahmā and Çakra or other divine worshippers with fly-whisks or garlands. We find here and there on either side of the Buddha Bodhisattva's who might perhaps not be out of place at Çrāvastī but whose presence in no way shews any particular connection with the Great Miracle. Only the royal worshipper appearing on several reliefs of this gallery, might be looked upon as king Prasenajit, though there is nothing that indicates he and not another is meant.

All this gives no indication of the Great Miracle. On the contrary there are two points that would certainly not coincide with the event at Çrāvastī. On all the pictures of the miracle given in Foucher's article it is easy to detect the one "real" Buddha of which the others are only the emanations; he is everywhere much larger than the others and on the one plate where that is not the case he is still plainly recognisable by his being seated in the middle on a lotuscushion whose stalk is held up by the two nāga's. On the reproduction of the Barabuḍur scene (pl. 5). no. CCCLVI, 1 in Leemans, thus no. 1 in our numbering, one Buddha is seated in the middle; he is not distinguished in any way from his colleagues except by being placed in the middle. In this respect, the relief in question is an exception. Nowhere else as a rule do we find on the reliefs with the many Buddha's, *one* seated in the middle who might be considered as the chief performer of the miracle. On no. 2 already we see six in a row, seated and in the air; on no 3 there is none in the middle and none on the ground. And so it goes on, for details see the following description. The many Buddha's are everywhere arranged symmetrically and treated exactly in the same manner, nowhere is there anything like *one* being the chief person with the others as emanations.

The second point that does not agree with a representation of the Great Miracle of Çrāvastī, concerns the presence of the Bodhisattva's, also seated on lotus cushions, especially where they are undoubtedly

characterised as such by their attributes and are not sitting on the ground in which place they might be considered as interested spectators, but as for instance on no. 3, in exactly the same way as the Buddha's and among them, hovering in the air on their cushions. In such cases we can think that these Buddha's are miraculous apparitions, but then it is not possible to separate the Bodhisattva's, as being something different. But how can we account for their presence if we rely on the Great Miracle of Çrāvastī, the texts and the famous representations of it?

At the same time the most important and in my opinion, conclusive reason for considering the front wall of the fourth gallery as quite out of question for the Great Miracle of Çrāvastī, must be looked for elsewhere. On the preceding galleries, the texts began, certainly as far as they are identified, probably as far as their course was guessed at, with the gateway on the East side and continued in accordance with the pradakṣiṇā, round the monument, so that they ended on the other side of the same doorway. It is very unlikely that this manner of arrangement should have been altered. Yet we should have to believe that this was done, in case we accept the reliefs with the numerous Buddha's for the miracle at Çrāvastī: they appear on the East wall on both sides of the door and on the other walls almost not at all. Already with the fifth on the left and the third on the right, we find a relief without many Buddha's, with only one seated as usual in his niche; how is it possible to connect for instance no. 7 with a Buddha in the middle, musicians at the side and a rain of jewels from the clouds, with the miracle of Çrāvastī? Or no. 9 with a kalpadrūma in the middle of it? Or on the other side no. 69 with a stūpa in the place of honour, or no. 64 where a distribution of garments is going on? Then we must consider that it will not do to consider a relief further removed, for instance no. 18, on which no less than ten Buddha's appear, or no. 53 that has five, as having no connection with the text of the remaining reliefs of the numerous Buddha's. But on the other hand it is absolutely impossible to fit these reliefs to the Great Miracle with which so many of the intermediate reliefs, as we see by the subjects they depict, can have no connection whatever. In such a case the verdict is quite clear: these reliefs are certainly connected with each other but their connection is not the Great Miracle of Çrāvastī.

It is this fact of the connection of the whole series of reliefs that I must call attention to, a connection clearly demonstrated by the appearance of the chief person of the whole series, the Bodhisattva who is distinguished by the stalk with three buds at the top. On the first relief he is

already in an important place in the scene reproduced by Foucher to illustrate the mahāpratihārya; we find him further on play the chiefpart in nearly all the scenes, first in these of the many Buddha's, then in those where no Buddha at all appears and finally again in the Buddha scenes at the end of the series. His continual appearance, in my opinion, makes it impossible to draw a line of separation and select a part within arbitrary limits as a representation of the Great Miracle of Çrāvastī, by which the rôle this Bodhisattva plays remains unexplained and what is outside these limits would have nothing to do with the miracle scenes. On the contrary I am convinced that undoubtedly we here have before us a continuous text from no. 1 to 72 with the Bodhisattva of the branch with three buds as chief person.

I shall not further discuss the Great Miracle of Çrāvastī. It will be evident that I am obliged to reject Foucher's idea, however suggestive it appears at first sight, and however much it is recommended by the powerful argument and authority of such an eminent scholar.

Before beginning our examination of the contents of these reliefs, we must try to establish the identity of the chief person. So far as I am aware, no other suggestion has been offered, at least not in print, than the one published by the author in his article "The chief-person of the fourth gallery on Barabuḍur" [1]), the result of which was "that expressed with caution, the possibility exists that the chief person on the fourth gallery at Barabuḍur is Samantabhadra". This manner of expression shews at once that the available evidence was not strong and the writer carefully avoided the responsibility of making a positive statement [2]). Nevertheless there were indications in a certain direction that made it desirable to fix attention on the possibility of the identification alluded to, especially as no light had so far been thrown on this point. It is true that since then no new evidence has arisen to confirm its correctness, but neither has anything appeared to prove it untenable. The question remains in the same condition as when the article was written; I shall therefore repeat the arguments there brought forward, i n a slightly altered form.

As regards the manner of representing the Bodhisattva's in general I refer the reader to Chapt. XII below, where the data gathered from the various series of reliefs on the Barabuḍur are brought together and it will be seen that the best-known Bodhisattva's, most often represented in sculpture in Indian and in Javanese Buddhism, appear with their

[1]) Bijdr. Kon. Inst. 71 (1916) p. 579—583.

[2]) Ibid. p. 583. My view is disputed by Moens in Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. 59 (1921) p. 588—600.

ordinary traditional emblems and that among the emblems, those at least by which the Bodhisattva must be recognised, as far as can be discovered are continually the same. For instance Maitreya's secondary emblem, the nāgapuṣpa branch, might be omitted, as is quite natural, in the scenes of some story where he is engaged in actions during which he could not easily be holding a branch with flowers; but his chief emblem, the stūpa on his headdress, is never missing.

We can certainly conclude from this that the Bodhisattva with the branch of buds can not represent Avalokiteçvara, who is always depicted with his own attribute the Amitābha image in his headdress, and in most cases, both in his two-handed and several-handed shape, so far as the condition of the reliefs allow us to decide, as Padmapāṇi, that is to say with the red lotus in the left hand. On the chief wall of the fourth gallery, we find him with his Amitābha emblem certainly six, probably seven times (no. 3, 8, 16, 20, 47, 50 and 12); moreover he appears on the same relief as the Bodhisattva with the branch with buds.

In the same way the personation of Mañjuçrī on the Barabuḍur entirely agrees with the representations of him elsewhere; he holds the kropak on a blue lotus and will be found on a relief in the second gallery (II 16) as well as on this fourth (no. 3). The last-mentioned relief also shews a third Bodhisattva very distinctly with the emblem from which he is named, Vajrapāṇi, with the double vajra standing on the utpala; four, perhaps six times more we shall find him on this gallery (no. 8, 12, 17, 47, and perhaps 20 and 50). These three Bodhisattva's are thus clearly distinguished from the one of the branch with buds, and the same can be said of two others of whom I shall speak in Chapt. XII, who judging by their appearance on the Mĕndut and as regards the latter, also at Plaosan, must certainly be reckoned among the important Bodhisattva's of Java, one with sword erect on the blue lotus and one with an emblem of flames also placed on a stalk. Both of these are found on no. 3 of this series.

There are still two important Bodhisattva's of whom something more must be said. First Maitreya. The Buddha of the future occupies an influential position and so we find him as chief person of the texts on the whole of the third gallery and part of the balustrade on the fourth gallery. One might think that no other Bodhisattva is worthy to replace him on the chief wall of the highest gallery and that it must be Maitreya who plays the chief part, though we have no idea why in this text he is deprived of his stūpa and given the stalk with the three buds instead. This supposition is confirmed by a relief on the balustrade of the third

gallery where an authentic Maitreya wearing the stūpa in his headdress also holds the branch with the three buds in his hand (no. 84).

Meanwhile the idea that Maitreya might be identified with the branch-bearer of the fourth gallery becomes less likely when we notice how on the chief wall of the third gallery, in the middle of a text where Maitreya constantly appears with the stūpa-headdress, a couple of reliefs also depict the Bodhisattva with the branch (no. 17—18); we can of course quite understand that for some reason or other in some particular story Maitreya should be given a different aspect, but it is very difficult to find an acceptable explanation for all at once representing him differently in the same tale. As regards the relief with the stalk with buds IIIB 84, Maitreya on this series of reliefs holds sometimes instead of his nāgapuṣpa branch, other flower stalks; it most clearly appears that in this series the branch held in the hand varies too much to be regarded as a distinctive emblem, and besides it was not needed at all because this Bodhisattva is recognisable everywhere by his stūpa headdress. In the same way Maitreya is seen here now and then holding a padma, but it would be foolish to identify him with Padmapāṇi, and so I think it would be unreasonable to put too much value on the appearance of the branch with buds on one occasion. What motive the sculptor had for depicting Maitreya sometimes with his own nāgapuṣpa, at other times with some other flower and generally without anything in his hand, we do not know, but the variation itself proves that it can here be no question of a distinctive attribute.

A convincing proof that Maitreya and the Bodhisattva with the branch of buds cannot be the same person, we find in no. 16 where they appear together; in connection with the above remarks it should be noted that Maitreya, plainly recognisable by his stūpa headdress, is here holding a padma. He hovers with some Buddha's and another Bodhisattva in the air, while the chiefperson with the branch of buds is seated in conversation with another, on terra firma. For the present this relief is the only one where we can be certain that the two Bodhisattva's are separate persons; there may have been more, because there are some on which, besides the chief person with his branch with buds, several other indistinct Bodhisattva's appear, among which of course might be Maitreya.

The second Bodhisattva who might be identified with the bearer of the branch with buds is Ratnapāṇi or Kṣitigarbha. We can notice here and there that the buds on the emblem in question resemble the shape of jewels. On the Měndut we see a Bodhisattva with this branch twice, once holding

the enblem in the budshape and once in the shape of gems [1]). As we have here two separate figures in a fixed number of eight,it is just preferable to accept them for two individual Bodhisattva's [2]), but this does not seem to be applicable for the Barabuḍur. The reliefs on the chief wall of the fourth gallery give so strong an impression of a continuous story about one chief person that it is impossible to imagine him a different individual because of some variation in the shape of his emblem. Besides, even the number of the buds is not everywhere the same, sometimes there are four; other variations in shape also appear. That all this sort of thing brings very little objection to considering the same Bodhisattva as chief person in all these scenes is proved, for instance, on the third gallery where Maitreya's stūpa assumes so many different aspects, sometimes large, then small again, then with an umbrella, but generally without and besides this varying greatly in size. But everywhere the same Maitreya is intended, and we see only what great liberties the sculptors were allowed with regard to details; they had to put a stūpa in the headdress to distinguish the Bodhisattva, but the exact way in which it was done did not matter very much. The same in the fourth gallery, a Bodhisattva with the branch of three bunds had to be continually depicted, but how the buds were carved did not matter much, or even if sometimes there were four instead of three put on the branch.

As regards the variation of bud and gem we can collect the following statistics. There are 72 reliefs on the whole wall and only 8 of them are without the attribute. Of the others, 9 are too indistinct for us to form an opinion, so that we only have to do with the remaining 55, including the occasional instances of four gems or buds. Of the 55, two differ in shape and there are 16 gems and 37 buds. This proportion is not enough for us to consider the gem as the principal sign of the whole emblem, and such should be the case with Ratnapāṇi who is even named after the jewel. The much greater number of buds in proportion to the jewels, added to the fact that the Bodhisattva in question everywhere he appears occasionally on other galleries, is shewn holding the branch with buds, plainly proves in my opinion, that the buds and not the jewels represent the real emblem and the latter must be considered only as a variation of the former.

Moreover if Ratnapāṇi is intended, why should three gems be given instead of one? In the Museum at Batavia there are two small bronze

[1]) On the Pawon the same enblem in the shape of a gem is found; there it is not held by a Bodhisattva but a female figure who holds a red lotus in the other hand.

[2]) For this, see further Chapt XII.

images found at Tjandirĕdja near Ngandjuk that represent a male figure holding a gem is his right hand, while a horse appears in the pedestal; the combination of horse and gem makes it very probable that this is indended for Ratnapāṇi who therefore has *one* gem [1]). It is also very likely that he appears on this same fourth gallery with only *one* gem, on relief no. 2 where we find a Bodhisattva who holds the emblem of an utpala stalk with a gem at the top of it. Considering all this evidence I think it impossible that the chief person with the branch with buds can be Ratnapāṇi.

As result of our examination so far, we must consider that the Bodhisattva of the branch with buds is not to be identified with any of the just-discussed, recognised and more or less iconographically established Bodhisattva's, so he must be looked for further afield. At the same time we must acknowledge that he takes a very important place among the Javanese Bodhisattva's for as we know, he appears among the eight Bodhisattva's on the Mĕndut, and he is also found at Plaosan [2]) in the company of the most distinguished and important Bodhisattva figures. In any case the person who plays chief part through the whole story on the chief wall of the highest gallery, cannot be in any way looked upon as a second-rate Bodhisattva, but must be one of the highest members of the Hindu-Javanese Buddhist pantheon, probably also outside Java a wellknown figure, for a whole text appears to be dedicated to him and we may be sure that this text, like all the others depicted on Barabuḍur that are known to us, did not originate in Java but was brought over from India.

As there are no further authentic iconographical data at our disposal, we must endeavour to discover this Bodhisattva's identity in some other way, namely by means of the literature. Javanese Buddhism possesses very few sources in writing; most of our knowledge has been drawn from data outside Java. There are however a few specific Javanese Buddhist writings and among them *one* that taliter qualiter gives us a summary of the Mahāyānist dogmata in Java, even though the work in question is of later date and appeared in East-Java in the form known to us. I refer to the Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan [3]). This review, however scanty its description of Bodhisattva's, may perhaps give some attention to the figure who according to the Barabuḍur must have occupied an important place in the system.

[1]) See Rapp. Oudh. Dienst 1913 p. 65 and Not. Bat Gen. 1913 p. XLVIII no. 5393; 1914 p. 187 no. 5494.

[2]) IJzerman, Beschrijving der oudheden (1891), plate G.

[3]) Edited by J. Kats, the Hague 1910.

Now this short document gives us the names of four Bodhisattva's but without designating them with that title. Two of them do not even perform the functions ascribed to these beings, but their names are those of well-known Bodhisattva's, they are Bajrapāṇi, i.e. Vajrapāṇi, and Lokeçvara, i.e. Avalokiteçvara; here both officiating as gods who appear out of Çākyamuni's body [1]). As we have already seen, these two appear on this series of reliefs with their usual emblems so they can have nothing to do with the Bodhisattva of the branch with buds. But we have another passage which is found in the enumeration of various Buddha's. First those of the past are mentioned and the text then continues [2]): Tathā caivāpy anāgatāh, kunang bhaṭāra buddha sang anāgata, sang abhimukha mangabhisaṃbuddha, kadyanggān, bhaṭāra āryya Maïtreyādi, Samantaibhadra paryyanta, anāgata buddha ngaranira kabeh. ("And then further those of the future": and the Lord Buddha's who are still to come, those who will receive enlightenment in the future, such as the noble Lord Maitreya and so on, and finally Samantabhadra; the name of them all is Buddha of the Future).

Here we find mentioned, as the principal Buddha's of the future (therefore Bodhisattva's in the present), the first and the last. Here we have the name worthy to be mentioned in one breath with that of Maitreya. This too is the Bodhisattva to whom the gallery above Maitreya could be assigned, so that he should end the series of which Maitreya is the beginning.

We can therefore begin by stating that the Bodhisattva whose identity we are in search of, is either not mentioned at all in the Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan, or can be no other than Samantabhadra. Further, the important fact, unknown from other sources, that the Javanese Mahāyāna recognised him as the last Buddha of the Future gives us the key to the otherwise puzzling circumstance of another Bodhisattva appearing after the future Buddha Maitreya in the mounting series of Barabuḍur texts.

We must now examine what iconographic evidence there may be about Samantabhadra. It then appears that this Bodhisattva is represented in many different ways. In India itself he has not been identified with certainty; on the contrary in the Nepal miniatures reproduced by Foucher he undoubtedly is to be found [3]), he is seated on

[1]) Fol. 53a (p. 60 and 108). Also fol. 56 (p. 63 and 111).

[2]) Fol. 9a (p. 17 and 71). My translation differs from that of Kats as regards the meaning of a b h i m u k h a.

[3]) Etude sur l'iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde I (1900) p. 120 and 195 and pl. VI, 2.

an elephant, his hands in dharmacakra-mūdra holding a branch with an oblong sort of flower at the end of it, which I shall refer to later on. To judge by the date of these miniatures, this shape will probably be the nearest to the original one of India. In the later Nepal art we find him with a flower in each hand and on both flowers a cakra[1]), then the Tibetan-Mongolian art gives him in three ways, with sun and amṛta-bottle, with vajra and lotus or with cakra and bell[2]). The Japanese pantheon also shews forms differing from one another: lotus in the right, vitarka-mudrā with the left hand, or seated on an elephant holding a rolled-up document, or standing, with a small canopy in the style of a standard [3]). Elsewhere he is distinguished by the cintāmaṇi-jewel combined with vitarka-mudrā or with the vajra [4]). All this gives us very little that is reliable. Even for Java there is no certainty. There exist bronzes of a Bodhisattva who has no other emblem than the dharmacakra-mudrā of his hands; as the miniature mentioned above shews the same gesture of the hands, and besides Samantabhadra is the Bodhisattva who belongs to the Dhyāni-Buddha Vairocana distinguishable by this same mudrā, there is a possibility that this Bodhisattva in dharmacakra-mudrā may be Samantabhadra. So this name is given by Dr. Juynboll to the two specimens in the Leyden Museum, though doubtfully[5]), and the author, also with hesitation, followed his lead for the example at Batavia[6]). But later, a Bodhisattva figure was found that is sitting on a pedestal from which an elephant appears, and that animal already on the miniature, has been appropriated by Samantabhadra so that this bronze might be identified with him[7]). This last-mentioned figure shews no sign of the gesture or the combination of attributes just described; it has the left hand lying open in its lap and the right hand that rests on the knee, holds a vajra[8]).

[1]) Bhagvânlâl Indrajî, The Bauddha Mythology of Nepal, published by Burgess, Notes on the Bauddha Rock-temples of Ajaṇṭâ, Arch. Surv. West. India 9 (1879).

[2]) See Grünwedel, Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei (1900) p. 141; Pander, Das Pantheon des Tsangtscha Hutuktu (1890) p. 59 and 77.

[3]) Comp. Von Siebold, Pantheon von Nippon (1852) p. 56 and pl. X; Puini, Di una singolare incarnazione di Samantabhadra bodhisattva, Riv. d. Studi Orientali 6 (1913) p. 996 sq. and pl. 2.

[4]) Getty, The gods of Northern Buddhism (1914) p. 46.

[5]) Catalogue of the Rijks Ethnographisch Museum, V. Javaansche Oudheden (1909) p. 92.

[6]) Rapp. Oudh. Comm. 1912 p. 46.

[7]) See article quoted above about the bronzes found at Ngandjuk p. 65; Not. Bat. Gen. 1913 p. XLVII no. 5388 and 5389.

[8]) This vajra might indicate Indra who also rides the elephant and has also gained a place

It seems there is no connecting-link to be found in Java any more than outside of it. Let us now examine again the representation on the miniature that *certainly* is intended for Samantabhadra according to the inscription and is, as far as our knowledge goes, the one nearest to the original Indian idea of him. It may be quite accidental that in this one example the trees in the background have branches that end with three buds. But it is surely remarkable that on the branch the Bodhisattva holds in his hand, on each side of the flower at the top of it, a small shoot can be seen with just the same kind of bud as the well-known attribute on the Barabuḍur displays. The centre twig of course is different, but nevertheless the curious coincidence of the side-shoots gives rise to the conjecture that on the miniature of Samantabhadra, the same attribute may be intended as with the Bodhisattva on the Barabuḍur.

The question now arises, can the Buddhist literature outside Java furnish any clues to shew us that such an important part as that depicted on the monument is given to Samantabhadra? Such evidence actually exists among the texts accessible to us, but not on the surface. Here and there we find his name among those of the principal Bodhisattva's, also among those whose task it was to establish the sūtra's [1]); he also takes part in some of the edifying stories [2]). Still more important, he appears as one of the speakers in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka [3]), so that the Japanese Nichiren-sect which is founded on that text, holds him in high honour and among their sacred writings will be found a Samantabhadradhyānasūtra [4]). We have already seen (p. 4) that Samantabhadra in the Gaṇḍavyūha is the one who confers the Perfect Wisdom and it is evident this is of importance, when the Gaṇḍavyūha is one of the texts depicted on Barabuḍur and the distinguished part he plays in that work would be quite consistent with his eminent position on the fourth gallery. He takes high rank among the Bodhisattva's of the Bodhicaryāvatāra [5]); the Samantabhadracaryā, known to us through the

in the Buddhist pantheon. All the same we have seen that in Tibet too the vajra is an attribute of Samantabhadra.

[1]) For instance Wassiljew, Der Buddhismus (1860) p. 172 (= 159) and 291 (= 264); the same Tāranātha, Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien, üb. Schiefner (1869) p. 300.

[2]) See also Tāranātha, p. 96 (= 76).

[3]) Chapt. XXVI, Samantabhadrotsāhanaparivarta, on p. 472 sqq. in the edition Kern—Nanjio, Bibl. Buddh. X (1908—1912); in Kern's translation, S. B. E. 21 (1884) p. 431 sqq.

[4]) Ryauon Fujishima, Le Buddhisme Japonais (1889) p. 111; Puini l.l. p. 990.

[5]) II, 13, 50; X, 15 (text of Minayeff in Zapiski 4, 1889, translation by De La Vallée Poussin in Muséon 1892).

Bhadracarī [1]), is praised elsewhere [2]), and among the many Prajñāpāramitā's there is one dedicated to this Bodhisattva [3]). Further, Chinese Buddhism knows him as the most important speaker in the Hwa-yen-sūtra [4]) and we learn of the great honour in which he was held at Wo-mei-shan [5]). Then in China, Samantabhadra is recognised as the 'founder' of the Yogācārya-school [6]) and in connection with this we may already observe through the Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan, the possible influence of that school on Javanese Buddhism. The work mentioned quotes [7]) an opinion of ḍang ācāryya çrī Dināgapāda, a verdict that concerns the yoga. Kats has already noticed [8]) that this name probably means Dignāga of Kāñci, one of the disciples of Asaṅga or Vasubandhu and in any case a distinguished authority of the Yogācārya-school; Dharmapāla of Kāñci, a contemporary of Hiuen Tsiang, was a disciple of Dignāga and after having teached at Nālandā for more than thirty years, came towards the end of his life to Suvarṇadvīpa, thus probably Sumatra. This possibly explains the manner in which this pronouncement found its way into Java; in any case we must note that this Yogācārya-authority prevailed for the Buddhism of the Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan.

Then in the Tibetan literature we find evidence that in a certain phase of the Mahāyāna, the figure of Samantabhadra must have come to the front very prominently. It is not possible for me to consult this literature itself, therefore I must be satisfied with a quotation from Feer's index to the Analyse du Kandjour by Csoma [9]).

"C'est surtout dans le Rgyud (Tantra) que Samanta-Bhadra est cité, célébré, exalté. Il est invoqué comme le suprême seigneur de la sagesse

[1]) See above p. 77.

[2]) Sukhāvati-vyūha VIII, 20 (text of Müller—Nanjio in Anecd. Oxon. Aryan series I, 2 (1883); trans. by Müller in S. B. E. 49, 1 (1894).

[3]) See Walleser, Prajñāpāramitā (1914) p. 23.

[4]) Edkins, Chinese Buddhism (1880) p. 20. For this sūtra, the Avataṃsaka, comp. Wassiljew, l.l. p. 172 (= 159) and chapt. XIII here below. The coming of various Buddha's is prophesied by Samantabhadra, see Beal, Romantic Legend (1875) p. 7.

[5]) See Foucher l.l. p. 121. The Samantabhadra of the miniature is perhaps the Wo-mei-shan one.

[6]) Eitel, Handbook of Chinese Buddhism, s.v. As expounder of a yoga-creed, Samantabhadra also appears in the biography of Amoghavajra, see Lévi-Chavannes, Les seize arhat protecteurs de la loi, Journ. asiat. 11 : 8 (1916) p. 49. Comp. Getty l.l. p. 46.

[7]) On folio 40a (p. 45 and 96).

[8]) On p. 10 of his edition.

[9]) Annales Musée Guimet 2 (1881) p. 455 s. v. Samanta-Bhadra. Comp. also Waddell, The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism (1895) p. 72 and 131, also Samantabhadra Ādibuddha in Padma Thaṅ Yig, Journ. Asiat. 1923, II p. 272.

(Rgyud XXII, 2°); il répond, dit Csoma, au Optimus Maximus des Romains, il est le suprême Buddha (!); tout, en quelque sorte, procède de lui (Rgyud VII, 6°)" etc.

In other parts of the Rgyud he is invoked; a sūtra in the Mdo is pronounced at his request[1]); the Phal-chen tells of his meditation or ecstasy and his transformations as well as his actions [2]). As already stated, I know nothing of the further contents of these works, so it is impossible to say if one of them might be able to throw some light on the story of the fourth gallery. But at any rate this clearly proves that a number of actual Samantabhadra texts existed, and that in some of them an unusually important position must have been given to this Bodhisattva, a position that makes it quite comprehensible that the founders of the Barabuḍur should have dedicated the highest gallery to him [3]).

Although here above I have collected evidence that appears to me sufficiently important to draw attention to the possibility of the Bodhisattva with the branch of buds being no other than Samantabhadra, I have plainly stated that I do not consider this sufficient to establish his identity. On the other hand it will appear when we discuss the further data regarding the Buddhism of Java, that what is known about it or can be deduced, coincides easily with a system that ascribes a high position to Samantabhadra and that only through such a system a suitable explanation can be obtained. Without anticipating our further examination, we may consider there is reason enough for the present to entitle "the Bodhisattva characterized by the branch with buds" as Samantabhadra.

When we consider the story depicted on these reliefs as a whole, we can at once distinguish some of its general points. First, we see that Samantabhadra is not the only chief person of this text. On by far the greatest number of scenes a second chief figure appears, one in the dress of high rank and continually wearing a halo.

Knowing as we do so little about what the reliefs represent, we cannot be certain that this figure is always meant for the same person, though to avoid confusion in describing the reliefs, we will call him "the second chief person". The impression we get certainly is that of a continual part played by the same person, so as Sudhana on the second or the spec-

[1]) Daçadigbodhisattvasāmudrasannipatimahotsavavikrīḍita (XVIII, 3) l.l. p. 265.

[2]) Phal-chen 3 and 32, l.l. p. 209 and 211.

[3]) For the meaning of Saṁantabhadra see also Puini l.l. p. 990, and De Milhoué's Introduction to the Si-dô-In-dzou (Ann. Mus. Guim. 8, 1899) p. XIII. It is noticeable that in the just-mentioned work the name of Samantabhadra is given among the very few Bodhisattva's (p. 54, 99, 126). See further Chapt. XIII.

tator of Maitreya's miracles on the balustrade of the third gallery, but it is no more than an impression, seeing the little character or individuality the sculptors are in the habit of giving to different persons of the same class and standing. The halo being sometimes put in and sometimes omitted is of course no objection to the supposition of this being always the same second chief person, for we have seen many instances of the liberties taken by the sculptors in this respect.

We see further, as already noticed, that the scenes with the numerous Buddha's are not divided equally over the whole text, but appear at the beginning and end of the relief-series, not in the middle. To be more particular: up to no. 23 inclusive, such scenes appear and no. 1—3 might be considered as a sort of introduction, while on the other side of the East gateway, no. 71 and 72 with respectively fifteen and seventeen Buddha-figures, are the closing scenes of this series and at the same time form a dignified conclusion to the whole of the Barabuḍur reliefs. After no. 23 the story also in another way, takes a different turn, because up to this point Samantabhadra and the chief person on nearly all reliefs are offering their homage to various Buddha's and Bodhisattva's, but beginning with no. 24 we find almost uninterruptedly, Samantabhadra himself as chief person in the middle of the scene, receiving homage from others, among whom is always "the second chief-person". In the whole of this middle part, up to and including no. 46, the numerous Buddha's do not appear. They reappear with no. 47, but in the third part reaching from this relief to the end, we do not find just as at the beginning, Samantabhadra continually offering homage, but mixed with such scenes are others resembling those in the second part, where the Bodhisattva himself receives the homage. The two closing scenes have been mentioned; curiously enough, Samantabhadra does not appear any more on these reliefs.

Let us now examine these three parts separately, beginning with the introductory reliefs. On no. 1 we find ten Buddha's [1]), and two Bodhisattva's each with a follower. This relief is very symmetrically designed; in the centre a Buddha seated in vitarka-mudrā, above one in dhyāna-mudrā, and on each side one standing on a lotus cushion that rises out of a pond, with the right hand in vitarka and the left holding the hem of the garment. On the right and left space are placed five seated per-

[1]) This number of ten reminds us of the ten Buddha's of the quarters, who appeared in the Lalitavistara and are also mentioned by De Groot, Le Code du Mahâyâna en Chine, Verhand. Kon. Acad. v. Wetensch. Afd. Lett. N. R. I. (1893) p. 186; also comp. the ten bhūmi's in the beginning of the Daçabhūmiçvara.

sons: above, two Buddha's, the two inner ones in bhūmisparça-, the outer left one in dhyāna-, right in vitarka-mudrā, below on the outside a Buddha in bhūmisparça-mudrā and nearer to the centre a Bodhisattva with follower; on the right it is Samantabhadra with a distinguished companion, left, a Bodhisattva holding a padma, with an ordinary attendant. Foucher, in my opinion on insufficient evidence, calls the one on the right Maitreya in the note to plate 5 of his article referred to above, though there is no stūpa in the headdress and the branch of buds does not resemble the nāgapuṣpa that the French scholar ascribes to him; the left one is called Avalokiteçvara though this is not very likely when the Amitābha-image is omitted in the headdress. On no. 2 we see a row of Buddha's at the top and several Bodhisattva's sitting below; the first respectively from left to right in vitarka-, bhūmisparça-, dhyāna-, dharmacakra- and again dhyāna- and dharmacakra-mudrā. The left-hand part of the row below is too indistinct to distinguish between the Bodhisattva's and the homage-paying followers, while possibly, the 'second chief person' who appears on the following reliefs is already present. Perhaps he is sitting on the right without an emblem but with two attendants; left of him sits Samantabhadra with the double branch of buds; instead of two it has four side branches with buds. Nearer the centre is the above-mentioned (p. 95) Ratnapāṇi with his jewel on a blue lotus; quite to the left, someone with only a padma, perhaps the same person as on the preceding relief. No. 3 too is not very distinct; again we have an upper and lower row, both seated, from left to right as follows: above, a Bodhisattva with an emblem of flames (Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin [1])); then one with a branch of many flowers; a Buddha in vitarka-mudrā; a Bodhisattva with a round bud on a stalk and a niche in his headdress — on the photo it seems as if there might be a stūpa in it, but on the original it looks more like a Buddha-image and that would of course indicate Avalokiteçvara —; a Buddha in dharmacakra-mudrā; a Bodhisattva with worn-off headdress, wide sash and a nāgapuṣpa in his hand, so possibly Maitreya. Below on the left sits the second chief person with his retinue, then a Bodhisattva in dhyāna-mudrā with a long stalk with rosettes on it beside him, and then three more Bodhisattva's; first one with the sword on the padma (Akāçagarbha), then Mañjuçrī with the kropak on the utpala and finally Vajrapāṇi with the vajra on the same flower.

On the two following reliefs, a Buddha seated in a niche, in dhyāna-

[1]) For further indentifications see chapt XII.

mudrā and vitarka-mudrā respectively, is receiving homage on the right from Samantabhadra and his escort (on no. 4 three adorned with haloes, on no. 5 two without halo); on the left from the second chief person. On no. 4 there are two Buddha's sitting in the air, the one on the left in bhūmisparça-, right in vitarka-mudrā and on no. 5 celestial beings are hovering. On no. 6 a figure in the dress of high rank with a halo is seated below with a padma in his hand and a large retinue, in front of a group of four plainer-dressed persons to whom he appears to be speaking, while a second figure with a halo to the extreme right, is looking on; above in the middle sits a Buddha in dharmacakra-mudrā, against a back with a border of flames; on both sides a Bodhisattva whose emblem has been knocked off (one has also lost his head) and next to these another Buddha, left in vitarka-, right in bhūmisparça-mudrā. The next relief shews a small pavilion in the middle with a Buddha in dhyāna-mudrā. On the left sitting and standing, is an orchestra with all sorts of drums, some cymbals and a bell; on the right a Bodhisattva seated on a lotus-cushion with a conch-shell in his hand; behind him stand musicians with wind-instruments, trumpets and flutes and there are two persons seated. The first perhaps is the second chief person, the second, seated on the extreme right and wearing a beard, is remarkable because he holds in the right hand an object that must be a small drum, but at first sight resembles the double vajra that Vajrapāṇi carries on the Buddha-reliefs at Gandhāra. We can notice the same thing elsewhere. In the clouds are overturned jars raining down jewels, while flowers and wreaths are falling.

With a background of flowers, Samantabhadra is sitting in the centre on no. 8 making a sĕmbah, with very indistinct worshippers on either side of him. Above him a Buddha in vitarka-mudrā with the circle of flames at his back, between Avalokiteçvara with his Amitābha-image and padma-bud, and a very much worn-away Vajrapāṇi. Dishes on lotus-cushions with smoke rising from them hover in the air. Next no. 9 gives us Samantabhadra and the second chief person, both with followers, on the two sides of a kalpadrūma that stands in the centre with jars underneath it; above that, four Buddha's next to whom stambha's with umbrellas are hovering; the one most to the left has had his right hand on his knee, the second is plainly in the bhūmisparça-mudrā, the two others have lost their right arm. On no. 10 as well, we see a very much-damaged Samantabhadra in the middle, whose stalk apparently has had four buds; on the right followers are sitting, left there is again an orchestra with drums and cymbals. A Buddha surrounded by celestial beings,

hovers in the air in dharmacakra-mudrā; on the right on a pedestal with garlands hanging from it, we see three stambha's with banners.

On no. 11 there is a pavilion in the centre with a Buddha seated in it, whose knocked-off right hand rested on his knee. An angel on a cloud is on each side, a tree with an umbrella above it and another cloud in the corner, out of which a cloth appears. Under the tree on the right sits the second chief person with the utpala in his right and a round ball, bud or jewel, in the left hand, his retinue behind him; under the lefthand tree sits Samantabhadra who is making a sĕmbah, with four companions whose headdres is made up of locks of hair. Next we see on no. 12 in the middle, a Buddha seated in vitarka-mudrā with a very high uṣṇīṣa, at his back the tablet with a flaming border; beneath him sits Samantabhadra, his hands folded in sĕmbah, on each side of him a dish of incense with the smoke rising out of it placed on a little cushion in the air. On either side of this group is a Bodhisattva standing on a lotuscushion, on the right Vajrapāṇi with his emblem worn-off, left, one with a flower in bud shape and a damaged headdress. Then kneeling on the ground, to the right, the second chief person with his escort; left another group of worshippers, and up above on clouds, heavenly beings with right and left a Buddha in dhyāna-mudrā.

No. 13 is quite remarkable, the centre being taken up by a large stūpa on a lotuscushion but without any umbrella; it forms a niche for a Buddha sitting in the dharmacakra-mudrā. This naturally reminds us of the well-known episode in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, where a stūpa opens and discloses to the astonished multitude a Buddha seated within[1]). Otherwise, the circumstances are not very similar. On the left sits the second chief person with attendants; above them, two Buddha's in dhyāna- and in vara-mudrā; to the right is Samantabhadra with his four companions, also with two Buddha's overhead in respectively bhūmisparça- and abhaya-mudrā. On no. 14 there is again a Buddha standing in the centre on a lotuscushion, his right hand in vitarka-mudrā, the left holding his garment hem. The second chief person sits as on the last relief, to the left with his followers, he holds a ball-shaped object in his hand out of which rises incense-smoke and in front of him on a lotuscushion is a pointed stave wound round crosswise with bands, probably some sweetscented preparation ready for burning. Samantabhadra sits on the right with three companions who all have haloes. On lotuscushions with stalks there are three Buddha's on each side, left,

[1]) Chapt. XI, Stūpasaṃdarçanaparivarta (see the edition and translation quoted on p. 98, n. 4, resp. p. 239 sqq. and 227 sqq).

the first one's hand is missing, the next in dharmacakra-, the third in dhyāna-mudrā; on the right, vara-, dharmacakra- and bhūmisparça-mudrā respectively. The second chief person on the left, and Samantabhadra, now with two followers, on the right, appear on no. 15 where the centre of attraction is a Buddha seated in dharmacakra-mudrā in the midst of a flowery ornementation on a lofty lotus cushion, his uṣṇīṣa has a sharp point, celestial beings hover in the clouds on both sides as well as dishes and censors. A different arrangement now comes on no. 16; at the top a row of six figures seated, separated by trees; from left to right a Buddha in vitarka-mudrā, Avalokiteçvara with his Amitābha image, a Buddha in bhūmisparça-, and one in vara-mudrā, Maitreya with the stūpa in his headdress and again a Buddha in bhūmisparça-mudrā; the Bodhisattva's sit rather lower than the Buddha's. Then below in the corners, sit Buddha's with the flame-edged medallion behind them, the lefthand one in dhyāna-, the right in vitarka-mudrā. Samantabhadra is seated in the middle with escort and worshippers on his right and the second chief person on the left, also with attendants. No. 17 shews us a pavilion and a Buddha in dhyāna-mudrā; to the right of it, sits Samantabhadra, left, the second chief person with an incense-burner in his hand, both with a retinue. Above these two groups on each side, is a Buddha with the flame-edged tablet behind him, between two Bodhisattva's; the left one in dhyāna-, the right in vitarka-mudrā. The Bodhisattva's are very dilapidated, we can only see that the one sitting furthest to the right, is Vajrapāṇi.

Now comes a scene with a great many Buddha's on no. 18, all sitting in the top row, one in dhyāna-mudra in the centre with the medallion at his back unfinished, then four on the left and five on the right of him. The left group consecutively in dharmacakra-, bhūmisparça-, dharmacakra-, vitarka-mudrā; the right centre one in bhūmisparça-, the next one on each side dharmacakra-, the outside ones abhaya-mudrā. The groups are so arranged that the Buddha's in dharmacakra sit just behind the others. Samantabhadra and the second chief person with his retinue behind him, are sitting on the ground, doing homage to seven Bodhisattva's seated on lotuscushions; they all have a halo but no further distinguishing attribute. On no. 19 and 20 we have a pavilion in the centre with Samantabhadra sitting in it (the building of no. 20 is very dilapidated) and on both reliefs the second chief person and his retinue is placed on the right. No. 19 on the left shews a distribution to bhikṣu's, one brahman and some laymen, but no. 20 has the space divided in two, underneath are bhikṣu's sitting each side of a large flower-

vase and above sits a Buddha between two Bodhisattva's under a tree, his right arm is broken off; the lefthand Bodhisattva with hands folded in sĕmbah, by the Amitābha-image in the headdress, must be Avalokiteçvara, the other one is only distinguished by the blue lotus without any other emblem on it.

The two next panels give no other Buddha's but only one seated in the middle, on no. 21 he is on a lofty pedestal under a tree, on no. 22 in a pavilion ornemented with stūpa's, his position on both is the vitarka-mudrā; above on clouds there are some heavenly beings. No. 22 has the second chief person on the right and Samantabhadra on the left, both with a pair of attendants, but no. 21 has placed all these people on the right and the left is occupied by a group of worshipping bhikṣu's and laymen with dishes of flowers. On this relief Samantabhadra's lotus-cushion is on a stalk. Now comes no. 23, the last of this portion of the series, with four Buddha's on handsome thrones, of which three above; the one in the middle sits in a niche in dharmacakra-, the other two are in dhyānamudrā. Below in the middle, also in a niche, is the fourth Buddha seated in bhūmisparça-mudrā; on his right sits the second chief person with attendants, on the left Samantabhadra and two servants. Here it is not the Bodhisattva himself but one of his attendants who holds the emblem in his hand.

We now begin the second portion, the one without numerous Buddha's. Here we almost continually find Samantabhadra sitting in a pavilion in the centre and the other persons doing him homage. On no. 24 they are the second chief person with his servants on the right, left, the same as with the Buddha on no. 21, a group of kneeling bhikṣu's and servants with dishes of flowers. Heavenly beings appear in the clouds on this and all following reliefs up to and including no. 40, except no. 31 and 32. The next scene no. 25, gives us Samantabhadra in dhyāna-mudrā seated under a tree, here too receiving homage from both sides; right probably is the second chief person, but his face and body have mostly disappeared, his retinue is uninjured; left, we see four men in distinguished dress attended by servants. On no. 26 a Buddha is again the chief figure; he is seated on a lion throne in dhyāna-mudrā, in a pavilion ornemented with stūpa's, receiving homage on both sides from a distinguished person with a halo, the one on the right holds a padma, the left one an incense-burner; both have a large retinue carrying banners and standards. Samantabhadra does not seem to be present here but on no. 27 and 28 he is again the chief person, seated in a pavilion and receiving homage from someone with a halo and a group of attendants on the right. On no. 28 there is a

bhikṣu on the left as well, he has a covered dish in his left hand and in the right a stick that has an ornement at the top with rings on it. I shall refer later on to this object.

Next we have no. 29, one of the few scenes where Samantabhadra does not appear. In the middle is a pavilion in which a monk is sitting on a lotuscushion, discoursing with three bhikṣu's seated on the left, attended by three servants. On the right sits the second chief person with his retinue; the flower he holds in his hand seems to end in a sort of ribbon. This and the following relief are noticeable for the large number of celestial beings hovering above in the clouds.

In the ten reliefs 30—39 we evidently have a closely-connected group. Everywhere Samantabhadra is sitting in a pavilion in the middle; only on no. 33 and 37 can his identity be doubtful for want of his emblem; everywhere on the right, either sitting or standing, we find the second chief person with his retinue and on all the reliefs except no. 31 and 32, (as noted) heavenly beings are witnesses of what is going on. On the left a variety of different groups of people appear doing homage. I shall therefore describe only the lefthand groups, referring the reader to the description of the separate reliefs for any peculiarities in attitude or appearance of the Bodhisattva or second chief person [1]). On no. 30 the lefthand group consists of women only, who are shewn kneeling on clouds and therefore must be surely goddesses or heavenly beings. On no. 31 they are people from the nāga-world, male ones sitting in the front with nāgī's standing behind them. Then on no. 32 rākṣasa's, wild looking creatures with prominent eyes and unkempt hair, while the bearded men on no. 33 whose hair also ends in rough curls, will be yakṣa's [2]). On no. 34 a mixed group of monks and laymen, all human, are offering respectful homage, and on no. 35 is a mixed group of three nāga's, one rākṣasa and a yakṣa; among the celestials here we find two garuḍa's and a kinnara. The four kneeling figures on no. 36 as far as we can see, are human beings, one of whom holds up a tray on a sort of pedestal, with an offering of flowers. On the last three reliefs the visitors are women; those on no. 37 kneeling in the foreground with musicians behind them, on no. 38 they are four sitting in a sort of pĕndåpå. Then no. 39, very remarkable, because there is a many-armed figure of a god sitting in front of the group of standing women. It is not very distinct, even the sex is now uncertain;

[1]) The reliefs of the 4th gallery, chief wall, are described fully in the Dutch edition p. 620—635.

[2]) As already noticed, in other places no difference is made between the rāksasa- and yakṣa-type but both are represented where the text requires only yakṣa's; so it is here not certain in how far the two types represent different beings.

but in any case it seems to be ten-armed; with the front pair it rests the right hand on the ground holding the left to its breast, in the other hands are its attributes. In the right hands I think we can distinguish consecutively a sword, an arrow, a sort of stiletto and an angkuça; in the left a dagger, a bow, an object unknown to us that looks exactly like a cracknel biscuit and a stick or spear: all, if we see rightly, are warlike implements. Seeing that the front, most important, pair of hands hold no weapons, we might perhaps consider this figure if a goddess to be Cundā, but this supposition is quite uncertain and is only supported by the fact that this goddess seems to have been well-known and worshipped in Java, for she appears on the Mĕndut. It is equally possible that we ought to look for the name of this figure among Brahmanistic goddesses and that this may be some or other form of Durgā. If on the contrary it is a god, we might take it to be Māra with his daughters, because of the other female figures.

No. 40, that shews a Buddha seated in a pavilion in dhyāna-mudrā receiving homage from Samantabhadra sitting left, and right the second chief person holding an utpala, both with attendants, is followed by six very striking scenes that should yield important clues for identifying the text later on. On no. 41 we find as usual a pavilion in the middle but it is empty and there is nothing on the lotuscushion but a large round bolster-shaped cushion. To the right sits the second chief person with two servants, on the left below are three plainly-dressed persons. Above these three, a rocky landscape is introduced in conventional form, planted with trees and ending at the top in clouds. In a large irregular niche in the mass of rock, representing probably only a hollow in the rock, Samantabhadra is seated in dhyāna-mudrā. The righthand side of no. 42 shews a space enclosed by a palissade; just in the middle of the relief stands the gateway forming the entrance to it. Inside the enclosure we get first two fruittrees and to the right we see the hall of a palace, in front of which armed guards are sitting, while within the building a queen is seated with her attendants; she is holding her left hand, with something indistinct in it, above her head and seems to have a mirror in the right. To the left of the gateway, that is, outside the palissade, Samantabhadra and the second chief person are walking together with one umbrella-bearer kneeling between them, towards the left, preceded and followed by two very plain-looking servants. They are going away from the gate-way. On the two following reliefs Samantabhadra is again seated in his pavilion and the second chief person stands on the right with his retinue. No. 43 is the most remarkable; here the Bodhisattva is

holding up a bird on the palm of his right hand and appears to be watching the scene on the left. The relief is a good deal damaged, but we can still see that the front one of the men standing is emptying a bowl of fish into a lotuspond and the man behind him is carrying an animal that looks like a squirrel. Above the pond is a tree and below, rocky ground, with a pair of birds and a couple of deer introduced into the design; there are some birds in the air as well. The whole scene evidently represents how various kinds of creatures are set free by order of the Bodhisattva. The lefthand side of no. 44 has also suffered a good deal. We see first in two rows one above the other, three bhikṣu's and three laymen doing homage to the Bodhisattva, and then with their backs turned on these, are some persons offering something in dishes and jars to two groups also one above the other, three brahmans and below two people in worldly dress.

Just enough remains of no. 45 for us to see that Samantabhadra was in his niche and the second chief person sitting on the right; nothing can be made out of the rest. Finally we see on no. 46 a wooden bridge being built over a river, its construction is simple but efficient; on the right is Samantabhadra who has a sort of adze on his shoulder and the second chief person folding his hands in sĕmbah with a couple of attendants [1]).

We now come to the third portion of the relief-series where we shall find again the Buddha's in the air. No. 47—50 seem to be rather closer connected so that the design of 47 is the same as that of 50 and that of 48 like 49. On the two first-mentioned is above, a Buddha seated between two Bodhisattva's and below on the left a group of bhikṣu's, on the right Samantabhadra also seated with the second chief person and his retinue. The details vary; on no. 47 Buddha and Bodhisattva's are sitting each in a niche and on no. 50 they are in the open air; the Buddha on 47 is in vara-, the other one in dhyāna-mudrā. The Bodhisattva's appear to be the same; on the left it is certainly Avalokiteçvara with his Amitābha-image in the headdress, but the righthand one on both reliefs has a damaged emblem which has probably been that of Vajrapāṇi. Between the bhikṣu's and Samantabhadra on no. 47 a vase and an incense-burner are placed; on no. 50 the branch of buds is there fixed up. No. 48 and 49 shew a standing group consisting of Samantabhadra and two companions wearing a halo, then the second chief person who also has a halo with his retinue, partly sitting. On the left, opposite this group, some worshippers

[1]) For this relief see further Chapt. XI.

are kneeling on no. 48 and above them heavenly beings hover in the clouds; but on no. 49 we find a crowd of standing and sitting people of the lowest class, among them several women with infants. What is happening to these people is not clear; the front one of the kneeling has his hands raised in sĕmbah, and the Bodhisattva holds these hands by the wrist. This scene shews above the crowd a ridge of rocks with trees and animals, among them a snake and a lion; on no. 48 we have nothing but falling blossoms in the air.

On no. 51 and 52 we find Samantabhadra sitting once more in his pavilion with the second chief person and his attendants again on the right. No. 51 has angels hovering in the air on both sides, and below them on the left, a couple of worshippers; on no. 52 there are no heavenly beings but we see two peacocks above the pavilion. In the last mentioned scene on the left a distribution is taking place, the recipients sitting in two rows; above three brahmans under a penthouse are receiving bags of money and below, laymen are being given small round objects from a dish, may be jewels. One of them petitions the Bodhisattva on his knees.

Next come two reliefs with numerous Buddha's. On no. 53 they are nine, all sitting in a row at the top and so arranged that the centre one shews the dhyāna-, the two next to him dharmacakra-, then vitarka-, then again dharmacakra-mudrā; the two outside ones are in bhūmisparça- on the left and vara-mudrā on the right. Those in the dharmacakra position sit behind the others.

At each end of the row is a person in monk's dress, according to Brandes [1]) a Pratyekabuddha and above their head is on the left a sun, on the right a moon on a lotus cushion. Considering that elsewhere the Pratyekabuddha's, identified as such by the text, are shewn with the uṣṇīṣa just like ordinary Buddha's [2]), I think it more probable that these figures are only bhikṣu's. Besides Pratyekabuddha's appear only in Buddha-less periods and are therefore quite out of place in this company. On the ground under this group, Samantabhadra and the second chief person are seated, both with several attendants. On no. 54 the arrangement of the group below is quite different; here we have one Buddha seated in bhūmisparça-mudrā with a water-jug beside him on the extreme left, while Samantabhadra and the second chief person are turned respectfully towards him, their attendants sitting behind them.

[1]) Rapp. Oudh. Comm. 1903 p. 4.

[2]) For instance Ia 4, IBa 17, 18, 28.

Right and left at the edge of the relief a Buddha is standing on a pedestal facing the centre of the scene; the one on the left in abhaya-, on the right in a not quite distinct dharmacakra-mudrā. Above, there is again a row of seven Buddha's, separated by trees, the middle one in dhyāna-, the outside ones in dharmacakra-mudrā, the rest in a kind of vitarka in which the two inner ones place respectively the middle and third finger against the thumb, instead of the first. Preaching to animals is the subject of no. 55; it may be compared with III 71. In the middle is Samantabhadra in a pavilion, to the right the second chief person with attendants. Above them, all kinds of birds come flying towards the pavilion, while the whole space to the left is filled up with other animals, continually in pairs and all close together; elephants, rhinoceros, horse, pig, goat, sheep, cattle, deer, hare, lion, tiger, snake, monkey and jackal are all there. Samantabhadra in the centre and the second chief person with his retinue, appear again on no. 56 where we get quite a different arrangement of Buddha's on the left; three Buddha's in vitarka-, vara-, and dhyāna-mudrā above four Bodhisattva's or gods with their headdress made up in twists. In the background of both rows are blossoming trees.

On no. 57 we see again a sun with a flame on three sides of it and a moon on a lotus cushion on either side of the pavilion, now placed to the left of the relief, in which a Buddha sits in dhyāna-mudrā. On the right Samantabhadra and the second chief person are approaching with their usual attendants; flowers are falling from the sky. Again on no. 58, both these persons stand on the right under a shower of blossoms. On the left we have above, three seated Buddha's, the first in bhūmisparça-, the second in dhyāna-, the third in vitarka-mudrā (with the little finger) and a circle of flames behind him; below them are six very dilapidated gods or Bodhisattva's with a halo, sitting on lotuscushions. Then again on no. 59 two rows one above the other right across the relief; above, three Buddha's with trees between them, the middle one in dharmacakra-, the two others in dhyāna-mudrā; below in the centre is a conventionalized tree which Samantabhadra seated on the left with his attendants, is watering from a vase with a spout; the second chief person is on the right with his retinue.

One of the most remarkable scenes is no. 60, because Samantabhadra appears on it no less than three times. First we see him standing on the extreme right with the second chief person and his servants; then there are two buildings like temples and between these he stands on his lotuscushion rising above the ground; finally on the left he is floating away

in the air. It is raining flowers all over the relief. In my opinion, this cannot be intended to represent that Samantabhadra makes three apparitions of himself, but only that the sculptor in this manner represents the Bodhisattva rising into the air and flying away. On the two next reliefs we have a pavilion with a Buddha on the left receiving homage from Samantabhadra and the second chief person placed to the right. No. 61 shews a high, wide pavilion with five small trees like bouquets ornementing its pedestal; the worshippers kneel under the trees on the right, the Bodhisattva has an incense-burner and a fan. The Buddha sits in dharmacakra-mudrā. On no. 62 the worshippers are standing, the pavilion is ornemented with stūpa's and the Buddha's uṣṇīṣa ends in a sharp point; as far as we can see, his position is abhaya-mudrā.

On the four following reliefs the pavilion in the centre is again occupied by Samantabhadra. Heavenly beings hover on either side of no. 63; to the right sits the second chief person with his retinue and the same they do in the three following scenes but once they are standing. On the left we see three well-to-do worshippers in the first scene; no. 64 on this side has a distribution of alms, taking place under a canopy to a group of two standing brahmans with beard and umbrella and three persons kneeling who receive garments. No. 65 has the left side divided horizontally into two parts; above are seated three Buddha's in dharmacakra-, vitarka-, and vara-mudrā; below in the lefthand corner is a bhikṣu holding a vase with flowers that has a pedestal, in front of him sits some person of distinction whose servant behind him has a branch with many buds in his hands; then a second person with a similar branch and next to the third who turns his back to us, is another branch with buds exactly like Samantabhadra's emblem. On no. 66 we have on the left a pĕndåpå with bells and flowers hanging from the edge of the roof and inside, seven eminent men are sitting, their headdress being made up by twisted locks of hair.

The centrepiece of no. 67 consists of a Bodhisattva with utpala and hands folded in sĕmbah, sitting on a lotuscushion between two Buddha's on pedestals, in vitarka-, and abhaya-mudrā and a third Buddha above him also in vitarka-mudrā. Flowers and censers hover in the air. Celestial beings are right and left on clouds and on the ground left, four bhikṣu's, right, four worldly spectators. On no. 68 there are two pavilions, left with a Buddha in dharmacakra-mudrā, right, four kneeling women. Between the two buildings and facing the Buddha, are Samantabhadra, his hands in sĕmbah, the second chief person and an umbrella-bearer. Two angels above on clouds.

No. 69 is again a relief with two rows one above the other. Below, we have Samantabhadra in dhyāna-mudrā in the middle and on either side six men of rank, gods or Bodhisattva's, those on the right have haloes, on the left headdresses of hair [1]). In the middle of the top row is a stūpa and on either side three Buddha's, from left to right in bhūmisparça-, dharmacakra-, and dhyāna-mudrā; the middle one each side sits behind the others. Then no. 70 gives us for the last time a pavilion with the Buddha in dharmacakra-mudrā and the sun and moon on either side of the building, the same as no. 53 and 57. On the right kneels Samantabhadra with five attendants; on the left three bhikṣu's are sitting, with a small temple or gateway behind them, and three laymen beside them. At the edge of the relief right and left, rocks are indicated; in the clouds above are four male angels to the right and four female on the lefthand with a pair of kinnara's.

Samantabhadra does not appear on the two last reliefs. Here we find on both only two gods or Bodhisattva's or whatever they are, without the branch of buds, and nothing else but Buddha's. On no. 71 the two worshippers are kneeling in the middle, above them sits a Buddha in dharmacakra-mudrā and next on each side, stands one on a lotuscushion with a stalk, the lefthand figure has both hands in the vitarka-mudrā, that on the right has only his right hand in the same position; his left holds the (now invisible) garment-hem. On either side of this centralpiece there are six Buddha's, three and three one above the other; each time the middle one in dharmacakra-mudrā sits just behind the others, then in the top row, the one next to the standing Buddha is in vitarka-mudrā, the righthand one at the edge of the relief is in bhūmisparça-, the one on the lefthand edge is in dhyāna-mudrā. In the bottom row both middle ones sit in bhūmisparça- and both outside ones in vitarka-mudrā. Altogether there are here fifteen Buddha's and on no. 72 even seventeen. The last relief gives us two whole rows of Buddha's sitting one above the other. Above in the middle is a Buddha in vitarka-mudrā on a lotuscushion with a stalk, next to him on each side consecutively, Buddha's in dharmacakra-, bhūmisparça-, again dharmacakra-, and vitarka-mudrā. In both rows the dharmacakra-Buddha's sit behind the others. Below in the middle rises the stalk of the centre cushion of the top row; on the right are five Buddha's in dhyāna-, dharmacakra-, vitarka-, dharmacakra-, and bhūmisparça-mudrā. To the left we have first the two Bodhisattva's or gods, each holding a flower and the front

[1]) Here too are some faint traces of a halo to be seen, so that probably they all had them.

one with his hands in sĕmbah; next three Buddha's, the one furthest to the left sits in dharmacakra-mudrā, the middle one has lost his right arm and the one on his right, both arms. Probably they were in vitarka- or abhaya and dharmacakra-mudrā respectively.

The absence of Samantabhadra on the two last reliefs might be due to the fact that these reliefs are not only the conclusion of the text relating to that Bodhisattva but form the closing scenes of all the pictorial reliefs on the monument, so that it may have been decided to give these Buddha-reliefs a wider significance. It is however more probable that the text represented required these final scenes depicted just in this manner.

At the end of this chapter I must mention an hypothesis by Dr. F. D. K. Bosch that appeared after the Dutch edition of this monograph was published, entitled "Het Awataṃsaka-sūtra, de Gaṇḍawyūha en Barabuḍur" [1]). Should this hypothesis prove correct it would furnish the explanation for what is represented on the chief wall of both the third and fourth gallery. The writer begins by examining the relation between the Avataṃsaka and the Gaṇḍavyūha (alluded to above on p. 2) and comes to the conclusion that the last-mentioned text is really the last chapter of the Avataṃsaka. He argues further that already in Sanskrit at least three versions of the Gaṇḍavyūha must have existed, represented respectively by nos. 87, 88, and 89 of Nanjio's Catalogue, the third being specially elaborate, reaching to no less than 40 parts and bearing the title of Samantabhadracaryāpraṇidhānasūtra.

Now the Gaṇḍavyūha, although originally belonging to the Avataṃsaka of the Mādhyamika-school, is accepted by the Yogācārya's because of the part played by Samantabhadra at the end. On this account it is very improbable that on Barabuḍur, a Yogācāra monument (as will appear in our final chapter), Samantabhadra should have slipped into the background, and as already in the Gaṇḍavyūha of the second gallery, we came upon a chain of repetitions, it is not impossible that something of the same kind on a larger scale was done in the Samantabhadracaryāpraṇidhānasūtra and there the journey of Sudhana to Maitreya, Mañjuçrī and Samantabhadra (see the summary of contents p. 4) was considerably extended. This would then be depicted on the third and fourth chief wall of Barabuḍur and the course of the story would be concisely as follows. After the prologue (II 1—13) and the wanderings pictured on the second gallery, Sudhana goes to Maitreya (II 128 and III

[1]) Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. 61 (1922) p. 268—303.

1—9). Maitreya sends him on to Mañjuçrī (?) (III 12), who directs him to Samantabhadra (III 16—19). But this last Bodhisattva considers him still unfitted to receive the Highest Wisdom and enjoins him to make a pilgrimage to various sanctuaries (III 20—39) in order to acquire the necessary devout state of mind and after that to put himself under the guidance of Maitreya (III 40—88). At last he is judged worthy to appear before Samantabhadra and to be initiated by him into the Anuttarasamyaksambodhi (IV).

"The correctness of this reconstruction" writes Dr. Bosch [1]), "may be doubted; it cannot be denied that the Sudhana-story as explained in this way from the reliefs runs more smoothly and ends more happily than in the meeting of Sudhana with Maitreya (II 128), especially if looked at from the Yogācārya point of view. Each Bodhisattva receives the honour due to him in the work of salvation; Mañjuçrī the least prominent Bodhisattva, is Sudhana's mentor in his first wanderings; on the third chief wall it is Maitreya, the first of the Bodhisattva's of the future, who personally conducts the young man. The actual salvation is bestowed by the last Saviour, Samantabhadra who occupies the highest chief wall."

If this supposition is correct, then undoubtedly the most extensive version of the Gaṇḍavyūha has been followed and the Samantabhadracaryāpraṇidhānasūtra can be accepted as the consecutive text of the chief wall on the second, third and fourth gallery.

These last texts are preserved only in Chinese translations; comparison of them with the contents of the Barabuḍur reliefs alone can reveal if the correct solution has really been discovered. Though our final judgment must be withheld for the present, we must acknowledge that the hypothesis appears very attractive.

[1]) l.l. p. 292.

CHAPTER IX

TALES OF MAITREYA AND OTHER BODHISATTVA'S

(*Third and fourth gallery; balustrade*)

The reliefs on the balustrade of the third gallery shew a remarkable resemblance to one another, to this van Erp's article has already drawn attention [1]). The real action of the scene takes place everywhere on the righthand side of the relief, varying of course with the events represented. On the other side the scene is continually of the same character; there we find on the extreme left in the midst of his retinue a man in the usual royal dress and ornements, and in most cases with a halo; then more to the middle of the relief the Bodhisattva Maitreya, sometimes with attendants. Although the sculptors have done their best to bring some variety into the unavoidable monotony by altering the attitude of these two persons or changing the appearance of their attendants, not only their presence and position with regard to each other is always the same, but the part they have to play can perhaps best be described by saying that the Bodhisattva is exhibiting to the other man what is represented on the righthand side of the scene, as if he were the compère and the latter was the public in the revue being displayed on the right.

Maitreya can be recognised everywhere by his stūpa-headdress; he wears besides the broad sash and now and then a flower, the nāgapuṣpa or some other. He is calling attention to what happens on the right, by some gesture of the hand or other sign and these scenes sometimes appear as if they were miraculous apparitions called forth at his command. On other scenes we are not able to distinguish whether the Bodhisattva has created a vision or is only pointing out the meaning of what happens. On every occasion the attitude of the other chief person is that

[1]) Compare the article quoted (p. 66 n. 4) p. 442 sq.

of a spectator attentively watching the events passing before him and shewing his surprise or approval by suitable gestures.

This figure, for convenience sake, we shall call the spectator. Furthermore, I shall restrict myself of course in the now following description, chiefly to the scenes on the righthand.

Let us first notice the last relief on this gallery, no. 88; it is one of the double panels that appear regularly, corresponding with the construction of the balustrade and occurring in the re-entering angles. On the first half sits Maitreya with a flower in his left hand and the spectator with five servants, two in front and three behind him. It should be noted that the actors in this scene are the same as on the other reliefs of this series; I mention this because in my opinion the spectator is not missing here in spite of van Erp's remark "on the left side we do not find the eminent spectator, only his retinue as well as Maitreya" [1]). This impression is quite comprehensible seeing that the figure in the place indicated has no halo and his headdress is not in the spectator's usual style. At the same time this headdress is certainly not that of a servant, but one that belongs to ceremonial dress and quite prevents this figure being included among the attendants. Furthermore the spectator is without a halo on several reliefs and in some scenes his headdress very much resembles the one he wears here; on no. 73 it is just the same. Added to this, besides Maitreya's umbrella, there is a second one against a tree just behind the person we are discussing; all this it seems to me, plainly indicates this figure as the spectator. The righthand of the relief shews us first a small building enclosed by a palissade, perhaps the sideview of a temple, but then a very plain one with a smooth vaulted roof, unlike what is usual on temple buildings. Then there are two men in the dress of distinguished persons; one, as we shall see, is the god Çakra, sitting most to the right on a throne with a canopy and wearing a halo; the second who has no halo, kneels before him pointing with both hands to the building. Behind him an umbrella is fixed up and a very plain sort of servant is seated [2]).

With regard to this representation of a building that is being pointed to, van Erp gives us the following opinion: "It is quite possible that we can here note the phenomenon that has been mentioned above (i. e. the final relief of the second gallery chief wall, pointing to the third), so that this final scene was intended to shew the buddhist who was making his pilgrimage on the stūpa, that a series of temples were awaiting him in the

[1]) l.l. p. 446.

[2]) If this figure had no earrings or bangles, we might take it for a bhikṣu.

next row of sculptured texts. It is certainly remarkable how in the sculptures we are about to examine on the chief wall (of the third gallery), a sacred building, either a temple or a palace, not only at once takes a chief place, but in a great many scenes becomes the object in which and around which, new miracles arise [1])."

Though we may be able to agree with the principle of this argument and, as appeared above, the same kind of phenomenon may possibly be apparent in the final scene of the third gallery that may be intended to point to the beginning of the fourth, yet I cannot quite agree with the rest of his explanation. It seems to me not quite certain that a sacred building so directly takes a leading part on the chief wall of this gallery. As a rule, the chief person on these reliefs sits in a kind of pavilion, but that is not in the least a special feature of this gallery and will be found just as much on the second and fourth; in fact it is the usual way in which the sculptors shew that a person of distinction is receiving a visit from someone else. Thus as regards these pavilions, there is as far as I can see, no reason to point towards the chief wall of the third gallery. It is another question with regard to the episode depicted on that gallery which represents homage being offered at various sanctuaries (p. 79 sq.), but the whole series does not contain more than twenty such reliefs, not even a fourth of the gallery. So on the whole of this chief wall, this episode in no way takes up such an important place that the whole row might be characterized by means of a small temple building.

That the meaning of the building on relief no. 88 must be something different, becomes clearer when we examine no. 67. On the lefthand panel Maitreya and the spectator appear as usual; the former it is true, has lost his headdress, but the place where he sits and the lotus cushion are sufficient guarantee of this being the Bodhisattva. The righthand scene also shews us a temple-building and one much more like the well known style of temples than that on no. 88; it has a person on each side bringing offerings of flowers. Here we get a scene in the style of no. 88, in a place where any idea of pointing towards the next gallery is out of the question.

What then can be the intention of these two reliefs that shew no direct connection with the surrounding scenes? In reply to this question, some indication may be found at the place where no. 67 appears. This relief follows immediately on a very distinctly-connected group, shewing the story of miracles performed in a lotus pond. The tale

[1]) Also p. 446 of the article.

ends with no. 67, for although the next three reliefs are missing and the proof is not available, no. 71 at any rate belongs to an entirely different story. It looks as if the scene with the small building is only put in to separate these two tales. If that is so, then we should have to consider no. 88 only as the termination of the story depicted on the preceding panels. Besides it is then quite clear, first of all, that we need not expect it to point to the chief wall and secondly that this relief with the small temple forms the end of a story but not therefore the end of this whole series of tales. In other words, it is possible that the cyclus is continued after no. 88, just the same as after no. 67.

This last is important in connection with another singularity, also noted by van Erp, though without his drawing the self-evident conclusion. I mean the fact that the first half of the fourth gallery balustrade shews quite the same mise-en-scène as that of the third. Here too, the lefthand of the reliefs gives us the spectator and the Bodhisattva Maitreya, the latter acting as showman to the scenes enacted on the righthand of the panel. The resemblance is so striking that if the photographs of the two relief-series are mixed up, it is impossible to distinguish them. In my opinion this whole series of tales belongs together; it forms a cyclus of more or less-connected stories all relating to events exhibited or created by Maitreya. The single tales that are the links of this chain, are separated by reliefs with a small building such as we see on no. 67, the same as on no. 88, which therefore must not be considered as the termination of the whole lot, but only as the end of a particular story that is to be followed by another on the next balustrade. It will even appear that the last story on the balustrade of the third gallery and the first one on the fourth have some points of resemblance, so that it is not impossible the connection between the two series may be closer than that of one cyclus and these two parts may prove to be more intimately united than the tales on the third gallery are to each other.

The above remarks will make it clear why the tales that take up the beginning of the fourth gallery are added to the description of the Maitreya-stories of the third gallery balustrade. It seems to me they form a connected series beginning with IIIB 1 and ending with IVB 42, altogether 130 reliefs. As noticed already, it is not one continued story that is depicted on this series, but as far as we can judge, a chain of various tales linked together by the fact of being exhibited by Maitreya. More than likely the collecting of these tales into this Maitreya-series, was not the work of the founders of Barabuḍur; they probably only followed an existing text, so that the collection of the

originally unconnected ingredients took place at an earlier date, so much earlier that the text then created must have had time enough to attain the degree of sanctity that justifies its appearance on this monument. Such a text must have originated in India and been brought over from there. We have not been lucky enough to trace it among the Indian Buddhist literature.

Our examination of these reliefs is therefore restricted to what is pictured on their panels. The first task will be to consider in how far we can discover their general relation to the frame-story which holds them together. Let us begin by picking out the reliefs on which Maitreya and the spectator do not appear in their usual place but are playing some other part in the story. Such scenes we shall find only at the beginning and end of the series, in fact just where we might expect them. It might have been arranged otherwise, with the connecting link appearing at intervals between the separate tales. But as far as the existing gaps allow us to judge with any certainty, it may be stated that after the introduction, the whole action continues in one piece till just before the end, with Maitreya and the spectator taking their usual part everywhere. It is no exception when we find, in a case like no. 6 and 7 on the fourth gallery, first no. 6 depicting only the Bodhisattva and the spectator with their attendants, without any action, and then on no. 7 only the act, in this case stūpa-worship, without the presence of Maitreya or the spectator; this is certainly only due to the want of space. The same thing occurs on no. 15 and 16 where the arrangement is a little different; the spectator with his attendants appear on the first, while the Bodhisattva is placed on the second relief. No. 27 and 28 must have belonged as well to these very small panels, corresponding with the construction of the balustrade, but the first has entirely disappeared and the second is so much damaged that it is impossible, to make out how the scene was arranged.

Nor has the remarkable relief IVB 30 anything to do with the frame-story in my opinion. It is remarkable, because Maitreya appears twice on it, first standing in his usual place in the group with the spectator, then again a bit more to the right, seated in a small pavilion in conversation with some people in a pĕndåpå opposite. So we see him first in his usual part as showman and then as actor in the scene. This is really quite comprehensible when we have to do with apparitions, that can of course be called up in any shape required, but it is equally acceptable if we consider the scenes depicted as real events; what is to hinder a Bodhisattva from putting in an appearance in two places at once? Maitreya

playing his ordinary part here as well, is evidence enough that his share in the action cannot be connected with the frame-story, but is merely an episode in the same continued story. Another point is that Maitreya exhibiting himself cannot be regarded as an original idea, so that this relief it seems to me, indicates the earlier separate existence of the story, apart from the fact of being exhibited by the same Bodhisattva who plays a part therein.

At the beginning of the series, no. 1 is the only relief that is likely to belong to the frame-story, seeing that no. 2 is missing and on no. 3 the spectator and the Bodhisattva are already in their usual places. Here with this relief, we can see the great difficulty of being ignorant of the text, for neither in the relief itself nor in its connection with its surroundings, is any solution of the meaning to be discovered. We see, beginning on the left, thus on the side from which the relief, like all those of the balustrades must be looked at, consecutively: Maitreya standing, with his umbrella-bearer; an apartment with three women seated in it; a man with a beard, perhaps a brahman, holding something like a club in his hand, standing next to a fruit tree with an ox beside him. This tree comes just in the fold of the two halves of this corner-panel. The right half shews a man in royal dress with two attendants, kneeling before a brahman seated on the extreme right under a penthouse, pointing with his hands towards the left half of the relief. If there is any connection between this and the following scenes, which there surely must be, then the person kneeling must be the same who becomes the spectator for the rest of the story; he is in fact the only suitable one. Otherwise we are quite in the dark about this scene.

Let us now turn to the end of the series. Although owing to such circumstances as the disappearance of the headdress, relief no. 30 of the balustrade fourth gallery, discussed above, is the last of the ordinary series on which Maitreya can be recognised with absolute certainty, yet we can safely rely on the manner in which the chief persons are depicted, for identifying the Bodhisattva and the spectator taking their usual part in the scene, up to and including no. 35. Seven scenes still remain before an entirely new tale or series of tales begins with no. 43, in which the design varies and Maitreya does not appear.

These seven scenes are as follows:

No. 36 shews a small temple-building in which is a large tray of flowers; next to it stands a person with a halo, in royal dress attended by two servants. The headdress is not very distinct, a stūpa is not to be seen. As the scarf is also missing, this is probably not Maitreya. Then no. 37

gives us a conversation between two eminent men; both with haloes. The one on the left, folds his hands in sĕmbah and according to his headdress, certainly cannot be Maitreya; the one on the right we might doubt about, for he wears a headdress of twisted up locks of hair and a wide sash; though on the photo nothing can be seen of a stūpa, it is quite possible there is or has been one on the figure. Next comes the corner-panel no. 38 that is divided by a tree, underneath which are some large pots, may be it is a sort of kalpadrūma. The left part is taken up by an eminent person with a halo, standing with his retinue; judging by what is left of the headdress and the omission of the scarf, this cannot be Maitreya. On no. 39 we have a pavilion surrounded by attendants on both sides; inside sits a person with a halo folding his hands in sĕmbah; he is too dilapidated for us to distinguish the kind of scarf he wears and there is no stūpa to be seen in the headdress. No. 40 is however quite distinct; here on a lotus-cushion sits the Bodhisattva Maitreya with his stūpa and scarf, conversing with a man and woman who have haloes; a third distinguished person, holding up an utpala in his left hand, is seated on the extreme left with some attendants. The next relief, no. 41, is again doubtful; not the righthand side, where a man and woman in a pĕndåpå are being received by another man, none of them having a halo so that neither of the men could be Maitreya. But on the left we find an eminent man with his retinue, who is adorned with a halo but whose headdress is so indistinct that again we cannot decide if he is Maitreya or the other chief person with a halo who appears in the preceding scenes. Then comes the final-scene no. 42, where there is a pavilion in the middle with a figure who though rather worn-away still shews signs of a stūpa in his headdress; on the left besides female servants, we see a distinguished worshipper with his attendants; on the right, as last scene of all there is music and what seems to be dancing.

As no text is forthcoming, it is not my intention to build up an imaginary explanation of what is here depicted; but I must call attention to some few points. No. 36 with the small temple may perhaps be considered as the closing scene of the last tale included in this series; in which case it is not very important which the person standing there may be, the spectator, or one of the chief actors in the story before. In the next six reliefs, Maitreya appears once for certain and probably a few times more, as one of the actors and a second part is given to a man in distinguished dress, generally with a halo, whom I think we may venture to recognise as the spectator of the preceding reliefs. Possibly no. 37 gives us a conversation between him and Maitreya or perhaps with some

other person and we may find him again on no. 38 watching the Bodhisattva going towards the building next to the wishing tree. Perhaps he is the chief figure on no. 39 as well as the eminent man seated with his retinue to the left on no. 40, here for certain in the presence of the Bodhisattva. He may also be one of the figures on no. 41 and finally be found again doing homage to Maitreya on no. 42.

All this remains uncertain, but at any rate these reliefs surely belong to the Maitreya-series and form no part of that section, where the Bodhisattva and the spectator stand outside the real action; on the contrary, Maitreya now plays an active part in the scene. This of course tempts us to look for our former spectator among the figures depicted. Without continuing the explanation of these last reliefs any further, I consider it better to regard them as the continuation and conclusion of a frame-story which forms the connection between the various stories depicted on the remaining reliefs; that is to say until some text appears to give us more certainty about them. What the nature of the frame-story is we are unable to discover, but it is surely of some importance to distinguish the reliefs whose explanation must be looked for in that direction, from the others we are now about to discuss.

Among the reliefs on the balustrade of the third gallery, as noticed above, there are quite distinctly a group of scenes that belong together, occurring about the middle. They plainly represent a number of miraculous apparitions called up by Maitreya in a lotus pond. By considering this group as a separate unit, the series on the balustrade falls into three parts, this division being assisted by a number of reliefs before and after the lotus pond episode having disappeared. We will examine consecutively the portion that precedes the lotus pond, consisting of relief no. 3—27, the series with the pond being no. 33—67 and the third remaining piece no. 71—88. As a fourth group we might add that on the balustrade of the fourth gallery no. 1—35.

Should the conjecture prove correct, that the appearance of a relief with the small temple-building shews the end of a story, then each of these portions would contain one tale. Only we must not use such conjectures to form theories with, but examine the reliefs themselves for the character and connection of the scenes there represented. The temple building that would eventually terminate the first story, would occur in the gap from no. 28—32.

Looking at the first group no. 3—27 as a whole, it at once appears that the characteristic of the Bodhisattva (and the spectator) taking no part in the action is not invariable. I mean that Maitreya's part is usually that

of "showman" to the action, but that does not prevent him from sometimes interfering with the persons acting on the righthand side of the panel. There are scenes enough to prove this, where the Bodhisattva is the one to whom the figures on the right direct their attention. Again there are others where the action has nothing to do with him, in which action the spectator apparently never takes a share.

As regards the people who are acting in the scene on the right, the series now under discussion shews great similarity from beginning to end, so as to justify the conjecture that all these scenes must belong together. The resemblance consists in the appearance on most of these reliefs of several male figures dressed alike. In most cases there are six, sometimes five or sometimes more. They look a little different on some reliefs to others, here with a halo and there without, there are all kinds of variations, it is surely quite unlikely they are meant everywhere for the same persons, even when we allow for the usual liberties taken by the sculptors with the appearance of the same personage. The identity of the individuals is however not of much importance to the question whether the reliefs belong together or not, for it is clear that in any case the similarity of these scenes is an indication that they somehow belong together.

On no. 3 these persons, ten in number [1]), are walking to the right; wearing (not all of them) a wide scarf and a plain headdress. On no. 4 they are seven and seated; the scarf is still there, but the headdress is arranged in looped-up tresses. We find them again on no. 5 with the same coiffure though the sash is not to be seen, the relief being rather damaged; here there are five of them in a pĕndåpå conversing with a sixth person. In the same manner, five in a pĕndåpå, we see them again sitting on no. 6 in a pavilion, in discourse with a sixth, but the sixth man now has a halo and a lotus cushion that were not given him on no. 5, while the five are wearing a different headdress, more like that on no. 3. We see already how difficult it is to make out from this partial resemblance where the same persons are intended and where not, even if this could be of any use in a case like this when there is no text at our disposal. The three next reliefs are rather different. No. 7 shews an eminent man with a halo distributing something out of a dish to a couple of men sitting before him. His attendants sit behind, one is holding an oblong rectangular object, perhaps meant for a book. This has probably some

[1]) If we reckon the two on the adjacent decorative panel; this is the more justified, because the front one on that panel shews a distinct halo.

connection with the two next scenes, where on no. 8 three persons sit conversing with a fourth seated on a lotus cushion and no. 9 shews five persons sitting in a pěndåpå; in both scenes some of the people are holding this sort of object and there is one placed on a small pedestal. The adjacent decorative panel also shews such persons with books.

After no. 10 which has disappeared, and no. 11 very dilapidated, no. 12 again gives us five seated persons doing homage to a sixth; as the front one wears a more elegant headdress than the others, this may be an eminent man with four attendants, but judging by the figures on the other reliefs it seems very likely that these too are meant for people of the same standing; moreover none of them have any of those attributes of attendants we are accustomed to recognise. On no. 13 we find seven kneeling with the headdress in twists of matted hair and no. 14 another seven sitting in a pěndåpå, here wearing the usual tiara and halo. They are four again on no. 15, now without a halo, seated with banana trees behind them. Then comes no. 16 with six of them sitting with pots in their hands and no. 17 the same number, three holding up a small tree or flowering branch, the others with flowers in their hands.

No. 18 is very much damaged, no. 19 shews again six persons now standing; then we get no. 20 with no less than eleven umbrellas to be seen above the group of eight seated figures, three of them with a more distinguished headdress than the others. It looks rather as if these persons might be sitting in front of a much larger group placed behind those we see and only indicated by their umbrella. It is quite possible that the figures on other reliefs too represent larger groups than the sculptors could find room for on the panel.

The damaged no. 21 gives us five persons sitting with branches above them with a jewel laid on a lotus cushion. On no. 22 there are only three people, one of high rank with two attendants, behind them three poles that branch out at the top like a trident into three flowers. Then comes no. 23 with five figures in the headdress of twisted-up hair with a halo and holding dome-shaped bells in their hands; there are four similar figures, two of them with censers, on no. 24. Finally it is apparent that the three last reliefs exhibit the same sort of people; they continue to wear the headdress of hair and a halo but are further distinguished by long necklaces of jewels. There is a curious variety in the way of wearing them; no. 25 and 27 shew the necklaces worn over the left shoulder and on no. 26 they are held in

the hand; no. 25 has nine, the other two have seven of these people.

Then comes a gap of five reliefs which may have included the end of this first story. Though without any text this supposition cannot have much value I consider we are justified in regarding the scenes up to this point under discussion, as one story with various persons appearing in groups.

The second tale is of quite a different sort. It takes up at least 35 reliefs (no. 33—67) and as we find the action in full swing on the first of the number remaining, we can only suppose the beginning must have been in the missing portion. The story as noticed in short, represents miraculous scenes in a lotus pond. This pond is always found on the right part of the relief and is indicated by lotus plants rising out of the water; the figures who appear in the course of the tale are placed on large cushion-shaped padma's, either sitting or standing.

For convenience sake I here give a summary of the apparitions.

First on no. 33, a female figure holding a flower and two male figures not to be specified because the block of stone with their heads has disappeared. Next (no. 34) four figures of children with the band crossed over the breast and the crescent behind the head; as we have often seen, this is no actual evidence of what they are intended for, this attribute being generally given to young people of high rank. Then comes on no. 35 the figure of a god with a lotus flower on a stalk in his hand, evidently the god Çakra as we see by the figure of Airāvata rising half out of the water with his elephant trunk headdress and ears and the angkuça in his hand. Then four male figures (no. 36) perhaps gods, holding utpala's and padma's, five hovering celestial beings (no. 37), three nāga's with their usual snake-headdress (no. 38) and four beings with wide unkempt mass of hair (no. 39) round earrings and moustaches, therefore a rākṣasa type or yakṣa without a beard. No. 40 shews a heavenly orchestra, divine because the musicians wear royal dress; they are probably gandharva's. After no. 41 that is a good deal damaged, with three yakṣa's and no. 42 with the remains of five kinnara's, we get a gap of three reliefs on one of which according to a fragment that is left, there must have been some garuḍa's. Then comes no. 46 shewing two monks and three laymen and no. 47 three Buddha's, the middle in vitarka-, the other two in dhyāna-mudrā. No. 48 is missing; no. 49 gives five eminent men holding flowers, one being a nāga; no. 50 three more Buddha's. In contrast to no. 47 the middle one is in dhyāna- and those at his side in a sort of vitarka-mudrā. The next relief, a piece of which is missing, gives us the celestial

bodies, we see a sun between two half-moons on the lotuses, while other constellations appear in the air. Next no. 52 with five female figures and no. 53 with five jewels on the lotus cushions; above them hovering on clouds that are joined together by garlands are eight balls, perhaps pearls. No. 54 gives us four (or more, for there is a piece off) figures of gods, here sitting on lotus cushions only, for nothing can be seen of the pond. On no. 55 we get three Buddha's for the third time, very much damaged so that only the pose of the hands is visible of the two outside ones in dhyana-mudrā, but not of the one in the middle; no. 56 is missing entirely and there is little left of no. 57; all we are sure of is that here too was a lotuspond. On no. 54 the disappearance of the usual lotuspond was only due to the damaged state of the relief, the remaining part plainly shewing that it belonged to the miraculous scenes; but on the now following two reliefs no pond appears because the series is interrupted by a couple of scenes of a different sort: no. 58 gives an eminent man sitting on a low seat with a canopy, with a woman and another figure that has been knocked off; six attendants are kneeling before him and in the background an elephant, a horse and a pole with the disk appear. It is probable that the object (very indistinct on the photo) lying on a lotuscushion in front of the horse's head may represent the jewel and that we have before us the gems of the ruler of the world; but his general and minister are missing or else hidden among the kneeling figures. In this case the man on the throne must be a cakravartin. No. 59 is terribly damaged, we can only see that the subject must have been an interview between an eminent man accompanied by a lady and three personages with a halo, and a man sitting in front of him with hands folded in sĕmbah.

With no. 60 the lotus pond apparitions reappear. This relief again shews us three children with their crescent and the band crossed over their breast; the two next, a seated god or Bodhisattva in dhyāna-mudrā. Then no. 63 gives us again the three children with crescents. On no. 64 the lotus pond is missing and in its place we have a conventionalized tree with chains of jewels hanging on it, underneath some treasure-jars and on each side of it an armed guard. There are five figures of children on the lotuspond of no. 65, they wear the band crossed over their breast but apparently no crescent; in their hand they hold a flower-stalk with a jewel lying on a lotus at the end of it. The last relief with the pond, no. 66, is a disappointment, for the upper part of the pond has disappeared and with it the miraculous apparition. It is noticeable that on the part remaining there is no trace of the lotuscushions that

supported the apparition elsewhere, therefore possibly this last scene shewed only a pond. We now come to no. 67, the already discussed scene with the temple and its offering of flowers, with which the second portion of the series ends. There can hardly be any doubt that this chain of apparitions in the lotuspond forms a complete whole.

It also again appears evident, if it might still be doubted, that here too an actual text has been followed. We might think for a moment that this part of the balustrade was intended to be filled with a demonstration of how this Bodhisattva in the presence of an interested spectator, created all kinds of beings, and that the series originated in this way. If such was the case, we should consecutively see many different beings appear, but there would of course be no sense in calling up figures that had once appeared, for a second time. It is just the repeated apparition of the same figures, as we have several times noticed in this series, that shews how the sculptor was bound to depict what an actual existing text demanded.

We now turn to the third portion of the reliefs, no. 71—88.

In this series it is much more difficult than in the preceding one to define the connection and I shall not venture to make any statement. Nor can we be certain that this whole portion represents one story, though there are details which seem to point that way. Such features are the following characteristics common to the whole series: the continual appearance of brahmans; numerous pictures of gifts and distributions; the appearance of Çakra four times.

A short summary will make this clear. Brahmans we find directly on the two first reliefs, two on no. 71 and one on no. 72, in both cases sitting under a penthouse in discourse with a man in distinguished dress; on the first relief he wears a halo and sits on a throne with his hand up to his head, on the second he is standing with his hands raised. A similar personage appears on nearly all the reliefs, sometimes without a halo but generally with this attribute and he usually has some attendants, one of them holding his umbrella. For the sake of convenience we shall call this man the "chief actor" in the scene, although it remains quite undecided if he is always the same person or different ones that appear consecutively.

On relief no. 73 this chief actor is respectfully approaching the god Çakra who is seated in a pëndåpå, here as elsewhere to be identified by Airāvata with the elephant trunk in his headdress and his elephant's ears; owing to a crack in the stone, it is impossible to see if he had the angkuça in his hand. The chief actor seems to be handing something

over to the god whose hand is open to receive it; the relief is too much worn away for us to discover anything more. Then on no. 74 the chief actor is speaking to two persons who stand before him, the one behind has hardly anything distinctive left, but the front one is plainly dressed and has a beard, not so well trimmed as usual with brahmans; it is not to be seen whether his hair was done in brahman style but in any case these two seem to be meant for brahmans. No. 75 gives an interview between the chief actor and another eminent person in the same style; the one is offering the other a dish with an oblong object. This is probably the same object which the chief actor presents to four seated brahmans on no. 76.

Again on no. 77 he appears to be giving away something on a dish, but the dish and contents are different. The recipients here are two seated men with beard and moustache and hair hanging in locks; behind them sits a man much better-dressed, with the same cut of beard, but his headdress is made of hair tied up in loops and he is evidently a person of rank with an umbrella-bearer. On no. 78 there is nothing at all left of the righthand side of the panel, on no. 79 we find the chief actor ready, dish in hand, for the benefit of some people kneeling before him; they are very much damaged; their heads are gone and we cannot see what kind of men they were. The dish does not appear on no. 80 but the chief actor is present on a throne in dhyāna-mudrā between five yakṣa's holding up an indistinct object in their hands, perhaps they are drinking.

The next reliefs shew him again bringing gifts; on no. 81 to the seated god Çakra, always identified by his faithful follower Airāvata wearing his elephant trunk and ears, on no. 82 to a seated brahman; the dish, perhaps only by accident, is rounder in shape. Then on no. 83 he is sitting on the same seat with another eminent man who has no halo, to whom he offers something, what, the damaged state of the relief prevents us finding out. No. 84 is very curious, here the chief actor appears with the figure of a small child in his hands, wearing the usual crescent behind its head; this little creature he evidently means to present to the brahman seated under a tree with his two followers and holding out his hands to receive the gift. On no. 85, the same man probably who has presented the child, now gives away a woman whom he gently pushes forward towards her destiny. The lady wears a halo as befits her who is given to the great god Çakra seated in a pĕndåpå with his attendant Airāvata, who here holds his angkuça (that was missing on no. 81) as well as his usual elephant coiffure and large ears.

No. 86 is again a scene of gift-giving; the chief actor here seated on a throne with his dish, is distributing to a number of persons kneeling and standing before him; they are very indistinct, but certainly very plainly-dressed people. No. 87 seems to be the only relief where the 'chief actor' does not appear; the panel is taken up by a building open in the front. Most of it has unfortunately disappeared, but inside there are figures of children, or perhaps they are not meant for children but the sculptor could find no other way of getting the whole house on the relief and placing people inside it. Next to the building a man and woman are standing; the former to judge by his waistband and loincloth (the headdress is missing), is probably not the chief actor.

Between no. 87 and 88 another no. 87*a* has been inserted (a decorative panel belongs here), that is also very much damaged; it shews a brahman conversing with a person who kneels before him; this figure as well as the four seated behind, has lost the upper part of his body, but seeing he is attended by an umbrella-bearer it is a man of rank, so possibly our chief actor. Finally comes no. 88 with the small building enclosed by a palissade, already discussed on p. 117; possibly the left one of the two persons here depicted may also be the chief actor of the preceding reliefs. The figure sitting in the pavilion is undeniably Çakra who can be recognised [1]) as usual by Airāvata his third attendant, with elephant headdress and angkuça. As it happens the figure so needed for this identification has been placed on the adjacent decorative panel, which in this case ought to be reckoned among the pictorial ones. On the whole series of this balustrade, the same as on those of the fourth gallery, the decorative panels are no longer separate from their surroundings, but become a link or transition to the pictorial ones. But just at the end of this third gallery it is very remarkable that the decorative panel we expect to see between 87 and 88, is replaced by a pictorial one and the one following no. 88 has been used to place Airāvata on. It looks as if the sculptor here had not room enough for his pictorial reliefs and was obliged to manage in this way.

We now go on to the fourth portion at the beginning of the fourth gallery (no. 1—35), where we shall see that considered as a whole, there is a certain resemblance to those just discussed. Here we find the "chief actor" again on most reliefs with brahmans and distributions, and Çakra too appears twice. In contrast to these similarities, this portion has a character of its own: it shews more of the Buddhist spirit in the continual

[1]) As was done by Jochim in Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. 55 (1913) p. 207.

appearance of bhikṣu's, twice a scene of stūpa-worship and once homage to a Buddha. We can quite imagine that the story at the end of the third gallery could just as well be placed on some non-Buddhist sanctuary without any one unacquainted with the text, noticing that it did not belong there, but such would never be the case with these first 35 reliefs on the fourth gallery. Here a distinctly Buddhist text has been followed. It is of course impossible for us to discover in spite of all this, whether on the strength of the resemblance just mentioned, there is here a closer link with the third story than that which connects the third with the second or the second with the first.

We shall restrict ourselves again to a concise summary.

On the first relief we find in the centre a pavilion in which sits a lady; to the left are a disk and a jewel both on lotuscushions; on the right an elephant, a horse and three men seated. Undoubtedly we here have the gems of the cakravartin. On the right stands the chief actor pointing with both hands to the woman; next to him are two damaged brahmans with beards, the front one leaning on a stick. The centre piece of no. 2 is an empty throne with a large cushion on it; in the left the chief actor is kneeling with his retinue and on the right three bhikṣu's are seated on a ledge. In the next relief Çakra appears, sitting in a pĕndåpå with Airāvata who here has all his attributes, elephant's trunk, ears and the angkuça. In front of Çakra stands a woman with hands folded in sĕmbah; behind her kneels the chief actor and three more women are seated. The woman standing in front of the god is noticeable in connection with the similar IIIB 85.

On no. 4 we see a curious building, it shews no entrance but consists of two storeys. On the three sides visible in the upper part there are three square windows with a sun-blind sloping above them and supported by slanting pilasters. On the left is a garden enclosed by a palissade and on the right we see the chief actor kneeling before two hermits who wear a loincloth, large beard and moustache with their hair in the usual ascetic style, twisted up into a knot. The one behind carries a fly-whisk and is evidently the attendant of the front one with the big necklace. Those on no. 5, before whom the chief actor throws himself humbly on the ground, are different sort of people; they look like brahmans but their hair is twisted up into a bow-shaped knot, not like ordinary brahmans wear it, and their beards are trimmed in horizontal layers. It is strange to see no less than six umbrellas fixed up in the background. No. 7 (to which no. 6 belongs, see p. 120) shews us among other people, the chief actor worshipping at a stūpa.

We see him again on no. 8, going with some banners towards three bhikṣu's seated under a tree; then follow four reliefs where our chief actor is busy distributing in most cases, food. On no. 9 it seems to be wreaths to persons in servants dress; no. 10, soup to three bearded men, probably brahmans; on no. 11 he is serving something out of a dish to emaciated persons of the lowest class and on no. 12 it looks like large balls of rice, but this relief is very much damaged. Then there is a relief missing and on no. 14 we find the chief actor with a censer in his hand sitting in front of a building that stands on pillars, and looks like the well-known grain-sheds.

No. 16 (with no. 15, see above) is again a scene of distribution, here three bhikṣu's sitting in a pĕndåpå are being served with balls of rice (or round dishes perhaps). Then on no. 17 Çakra appears again; he stands on the right, Airāvata kneeling beside him with all his elephant attributes; in front of him kneels the chief actor with a covered chariot and pair behind him ready for a journey.

Whether the journey was undertaken does not appear, for no. 18 shews nothing more than a building of two storeys, perhaps the same as on no. 4 though rather different in design, with only one of the roofed over windows and more decorated. On the right stands the chief actor holding in his hands a long thing like a stick, that he is shewing or going to present to two brahmans who stand before him; they are ordinary brahmans, one has a beard and an umbrella and both wear their backhair in the usual style. Next comes another scene of almsgiving, on no. 19, where the chief actor is handing out drink to persons of low degree; he is serving the front one himself. These may be the same people who are walking on no. 20 with the chief actor through a rocky wooded landscape, indicated by an outlined rock put on the middle of the group with a tree and a couple of animals on it.

We now come to the two most interesting scenes of this series.

No. 21 gives us a scene of rescue in a flood. A building, plainly a wooden one built on stone pillars, stands on the left; possibly they are not meant for pillars but this part of the relief was left unfinished. It has a roof sloping over the windows of the upper storey like that on no. 4 and 14. Between the pillars some very small people are standing and sitting, one of them stands with ball-shaped objects in his uplifted hands. On the extreme right in the background, as well as two trees, there is a second building, actually nothing more than a large steep roof resting on pillars that bend outwards; here too at the corner of the roof on each side, there is a very small human figure, while three of ordinary size are sitting in the foreground. Between this group on the right and the build-

ing on the left and in front of its wide pillars, streams the flood in which, just between the two buildings, stands a man in the water up to his knees [1]), who is possibly the chief actor. His arms are lifted up and in both hands he holds the same ball-shaped object just now mentioned. There are several smaller figures clutching his arms, apparently to save themselves from drowning.

No. 22 shews us another rescue from the water; above the lines that indicate the stream we see several men sitting or hanging on to a horse, with others hanging on to them. Evidently this is a rescue from the flood by a miraculous horse. In this scene Oldenburg has discovered the story of the horse Balāha [2]). The tale in outline is this [3]): some merchants having been shipwrecked, reach an island inhabited by rākṣasī's, where they are welcomed by their hosts who have changed themselves into young women with the intention of devouring their guests later on. One of the victims is warned or his suspicions are aroused and he persuades the others to try and escape with him by means of the miraculous horse Balāha who according to the most popular version is no other than the Bodhisattva Avalokiteçvara. There is also a version, that makes the horse an apparition of Maitreya [4]), so that the placing of this episode among the Maitreya stories seems to indicate this being the version followed on Barabuḍur. The end of the tale is considerably varied; one relates that all are rescued in this way, while another describes how those who disobeyed the order to keep their eyes closed and to take no notice of the cries of their wives when mounted on the horse, fell off and were devoured by the rākṣasī's and only a few, or even only one, the leader, escaped. The rest of the tale, how he is followed by one of the rākṣasī's, how

[1]) If this is intentional, the water being represented to the height of the knees, it resembles the story in the Chinese Tripiṭaka (Chavannes, Cinq cents contes et apologues extraits du Tripiṭaka chinois II, 1909 no. 173, p. 33 sq.) that tells of a nearly-drowned man, who is rewarded for feeding a Pratyekabuddha by being given in his next incarnation, a body so large that no water reaches higher than his knees.

[2]) On p. 219 of his article quoted above. See Kern's translation, Bijdr. Kon. Inst. 6: 3 (1897) p. 56; Verspreide Geschriften IV (1916) p. 231.

[3]) Found also in the Kāraṇḍavyūha, 52—59 (see Burnouf Introduction etc. p. 223), Mahāvastu (ed. Senart III, p. 67—90) and Raṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā (ed. Finot) no. 45. Similar tales are found as well in the Pāli Valāhassa-Jātaka, no. 196 Fausböll, and a Tibetan version in Journ. Roy. As. Soc. N. S. 20 (1888) p. 503—511; 21 (1889) p. 179; see also Beal, Romantic Legend (1875) p. 332—340, Si-yu-ki I (1884) p. 242, Chavannes, Cinq cents contes etc. I no. 37, p. 122—124.

[4]) Divyāvadāna (ed. Cowell and Neil) p. 423—528, comp. Huber, Bull. Ec. franç. d'Extr. Or. 6 (1906) p. 22—24. In the Lalitavistara (ed. Lefman p. 169) and elsewhere (Chavannes, l.l. I no. 59, p. 224—226) it is the Buddha himself who was the horse Balāha in a former existence.

he exposes her real identity, but nevertheless she manages to befool the king of the country, is here of no importance. The Balāha story is elaborately depicted in Cave XVII at Ajaṇṭā[1]), and is also found in the Mathurā art[2]) and in Pagān[3]).

Undoubtedly some story of this kind is depicted on this relief, even if it is not quite the same as known from the sources available to us. Nothing is given of the secondary episodes, the shipwreck or the tricks of the rākṣasī's or the end of the adventure. This scene stands by itself entirely and however grateful we remain for Oldenburg's correct identification of this one episode among so many quite unknown scenes, we know nothing more than that here the famous Balāha-story was depicted from some version or other. So far, this identification has been of no help whatever for recognising any of the other reliefs.

Next we see on no. 23, the chief actor conversing with some very much damaged persons, then a scene without our chief actor on no. 24 where a hermit, of the kind found on no. 4, is speaking to four similar ascetics sitting before him; then comes a gap of three reliefs. On what is left of no. 28, someone is discoursing with a bhikṣu, on no. 29 six monks are seated in a pĕndåpå, without any sign of a chief-actor, nor is he to be found on no. 30 where five richly-dressed men are sitting opposite Maitreya; this is the relief on which (see above p. 120) the Bodhisattva appears twice and also takes part in the action. Then on no. 31 the chief actor (?) appears again talking to two brahmans, while on no. 32 (where a tree with jewel-pots stands between Maitreya and the spectator) the chief actor or someone else, — the headdress is different — is holding his hands in sĕmbah before a bhikṣu.

The last reliefs shew us: a stūpa worship on no. 33, and the chief actor doing homage to a Buddha who sits in dhyāna-mudrā on a lotus cushion in a pavilion on no. 34. On the right part of this relief there are several worshippers, very dilapidated ones, but evidently some sort of attendants. Finally on no. 35 we see a bhikṣu — evidently a distinguished one, for he has an umbrella-bearer — giving a lecture to five ordinary colleagues seated opposite to him.

The series of reliefs so-far discussed, comes to an end on no. 36, shewing a temple-building and a man in royal dress, either our chief actor of this last story or the spectator of the whole series. The following scenes

[1]) Foucher, Lettre d'Ajaṇṭ„ Journ. Asiat. 11: 17 (1921) p. 212 sq., with reference to Griffiths, Paintings, plate 67—79 and fig. 75, and Herringham, Frescoes pl. XVII sq.

[2]) Vogel in Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. 1909—10, p. 72 and pl. XXVIc.

[3]) Duroiscle, Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. 1912—13, p. 104 and pl. LIV no. 24.

have a different character and have been discussed above (p. 121) [4]).

In our examination of what is represented on the first half of the fourth balustrade, though without any knowledge of the text, we had some foundation to rely on in the continual appearance of the Bodhisattva Maitreya and the spectator to whom he is displaying the scene on the righthand side of the panel. In this way the connection running through this group of reliefs could be established; but the second half of this balustrade offers not even the most slender clue to assist our investigation.

If I now venture to make some attempt at explaining, with the help of the reliefs themselves, the character of what is here depicted, it must be understood I do so with the utmost reserve. Just because we are continually confronted with so many inexplicable or only partially revealed solutions, I am only too well aware of the unsatisfacory results and am not likely to place too high a value on my own opinion, but set to work in the hope that my efforts may prove of some assistance to the readers, who are about to examine the reliefs, without previous study.

We notice first of all that the first nine of these forty scenes (no. 43—51), are of a separate sort and must be considered either as a separate story or a distinct episode in a larger one. On these reliefs, a most important part in the tale is played by a figure with a crescent behind the head and a band crossed over the breast. As we know, the crescent is found as an attribute of the Bodhisattva Mañjuçrī and of youths of high rank. The figure here is nowhere found on a lotus cushion, wears only once a halo, and shews not the least sign of Bodhisattva's in general, not to mention any special emblem of Mañjuçrī. Evidently some other young person is meant, though on the reliefs he does not look so very young; on no. 44 he is actually bigger than the worshipper kneeling before him. He never appears any more after no. 51; for that reason these first reliefs may be considered as a separate story or episode.

There is not any lively action in this piece. On all the reliefs where this figure with the crescent appears, he is chief person, seated on a throne in the middle of the scene and with only one exception, in a separate pavilion. On no. 43 he is in conversation with a man wearing a halo who sits in front of him and has a royal retinue, while to the right under a tree some more persons of lower rank are sitting. This is of some significance when compared with the next relief, where on the left of the

[4]) For detailed description of the reliefs see Dutch edition of this work p. 574—588.

small pavilion the visitor is seated wearing no halo and not so grand a headdress, but he still has his royal retinue, while a similar company of attendants has taken the place of the men under the tree. This second group must belong to the chief person with the crescent, who is possibly a prince. On no. 45 the retinue on the right is still there, but the visitor with his attendants on the left has been replaced by eight men who all seem to be of the same high rank and wear a headdress made up of locks of hair fastened together.

Then follow several reliefs on which the figure with the crescent does not appear. No. 46 shews a man in distinguished dress worshipping four Buddha's seated next to each other on lotuscushions in a pĕndåpå, all with their right hand lifted in the act of argumentation. To the right of the pĕndåpå some bhikṣu's should be sitting but as there was no room for them here they are placed on no. 47. A tree separates them from the real scene of no. 47, that depicts an interview between two eminent men, each with a retinue; one sits in a small pavilion, the other is kneeling respectfully before him, his hands touching the ground. Again there was no room for those most to the right, so that no. 48 has become rather a curious composition and actually has no scene of its own; on the left it accommodates the attendants belonging to no. 47, and on the right several persons who form part of the escort of an eminent man with a halo on no. 49, who is walking, preceded and followed by a great number of servants.

Finally the young man of the crescent reappears on no. 50 and 51. The first relief shews him seated in a pavilion with a servant, and discoursing to a distinguished visitor who has no halo; there is an incense-burner between them. Right and left there are attendants and we see behind those on the right, a richly-laden fruit-tree next to a grain-shed, while on the left is a tree whose construction is not clearly visible; it appears to bear large ball-shaped fruit on its lower part and bananas on its upper branches. On no. 52 we find the chief person with the distinguished visitor in a pĕndåpå, both adorned with a halo. Here too they have a large group of attendants.

Let us now examine in how far what is depicted on the remaining reliefs may be connected with the preceding group or to what extent it can be considered as a separate unit. We have already noticed that the figure of the crescent who up to this point played an important part, does not appear at all any more and in that respect the first nine reliefs form a distinct group. If on the other hand we look for some agreement with what the remaining reliefs represent, there is at least one scene that

is noticeable: the worship of the four Buddha's. Though no other four appears further on, we find the worship of three on no. 54 and several of two (62, 64, 83 and 84). We shall discuss this later on.

First we fix our attention on the possible connection in the group no. 52—84. Let us try to pick out scenes that represent something characteristic such as we may expect would not appear accidentally in two or more quite separate tales. As long as we have no text, this is of course never impossible, but a certain amount of probability exists that when striking or curious incidents of some particular sort are found in various places in a series of reliefs, they may actually point to a continued story. On the other hand we cannot be too careful of drawing conclusions from the frequent resemblance to one another that appaers in the commonplace scenes. On the very first relief no. 52, we see in the middle of the scene under a tree, an eminent man with a halo seated in dhyāna-mudrā; on one side of him a royal retinue and on the other a group of worshippers all dressed alike with an umbrella-bearer among them. A very similar scene we see again on one of the last reliefs, no. 81. Yet I think it would be too risky to decide, on the very striking resemblance between these two scenes, that they must belong to the same continued story because the scene here shewn is so very commonplace; it might equally appear in tales that have no resemblance at all to each another. Besides this the sculptors have a way of treating the chief subject of corresponding designs in the same schematic style, in spite of all their variations in the details.

Although at the first glance it appears that there would be no chance of finding any connected series of special episodes such as the apparitions in the lotus-pond on the balustrade of the third gallery, yet there are a few reliefs that point in a particular direction. No. 73—75 are undoubtedly very remarkable and certainly belong together, whatever their relation to the adjacent ones may be. They all display a miraculous tree. On the left, on each of them is an eminent person, possibly a Bodhisattva, with attendants; on the right some spectators are seated. Between the two groups is a tree, in which and under which on no. 73 there are a great number of incense-burners. On no. 74 it has jewel pots standing and lying at its foot and cloths, probably garments, hanging out of its flowers. Then on no. 75 it is hung all over with instruments of music, especially drums, but flutes and bells as well. Even if these reliefs with the miraculous trees were not consecutive, they would surely belong together and form part of the same tale.

We know now there must have been a text with this kind of miraculous tree in it, and when apparitions are found on other reliefs in the

vicinity, we are naturally inclined to connect these last scenes with the same story. There are a couple of such scenes which in my opinion, in any case belong together, and in fact are only separated by two intervening reliefs. They agree so far in composition with those above discussed, that on the left we find an eminent man with his attendants, who is evidently working a miracle or pointing to one, while on the right is a group of spectators.

On the first of these reliefs, no. 63, we see an apparition of jewels. One very large one lies on a lotus cushion on the ground in the middle of the scene, and on both sides of it and above hovering in the air on conventionalized cushions, with garlands hanging from them, are others, round, oblong, heart and diamand shaped ones. This display of jewels is surrounded by a notched border that very likely indicates rocks, above which trees appear. On the other relief, no. 66, the rocks and trees are on the ground and the apparition is displayed entirely in the air; an enormous sun and equally overlarge half-moon, both lying on a cushion of clouds, and between the two seven small balls, undoubtedly meant for stars.

If these heavenly bodies play a part in the story, then no. 62 surely must have belonged to it. In a double niche in the middle of the relief, two Buddha's on a lotus-cushion are seated, both in dhyāna-mudrā; on the right sit three bhikṣu's with three standing servants; on the left four distinguished worshippers, each with a halo. Above these four, the sun and moon are again displayed lying on their cushions. There appears to be some connection between the apparition of these celestial bodies and the worship of the two Buddha's sitting side by side.

Now there is still one more relief with which we might suppose a similar connection. No. 54 shews us an eminent man with a halo and retinue doing homage to three Buddha's sitting in a row in niches that are not built, but formed by outlines of rock with a tree spreading its branches above each of them; the one in the middle sits in dhyāna-mudrā, those on each side in vitarka-mudrā. Between the niche of the middle one and the Buddha on the right, there is a ball and to the right of him, a smaller one. It would be easy to think that here too, suns or stars are intended, but we are checked by what appears between the centre and lefthand niche: a large utpala. This gives reason for quite a different opinion, i. e. that the two balls were not intended to remain as such, but to be worked up into large round padma-flowers. However it may be, it will be wiser not to use them for an argument in favor of celestial bodies. Let us notice however that the decorative panel between no. 83 and 84 also shews a sun and moon, again between Buddha scenes. So we can pass over

no. 54 and state only the possibility that the connected ones no. 62—66 fit into the same tale with which the miraculous trees on no. 73—75 can be combined. Then we see that the worship of two Buddha's sitting side by side on no. 62, not only occurs again on no. 64, but reappears on the two last reliefs of the whole gallery, no. 83 and 84. Therefore we are perhaps justified in supposing that these scenes too belong together, so that from no. 62, up to the end one story may be depicted.

The intervening nos. 52—61 have nothing striking to offer. Worship of a Buddha appears on no. 55 and that agrees with similar scenes on nos. 70, 72, 77 and 80; but in Buddhist texts, the worship of a Buddha is a much too frequent occurrence to be of any use for distinguishing a particular story, they are quite as likely to belong to several different tales. The worship of several Buddha's at the same time is quite another thing. In a text where we see continually the worship of two Buddha's, a scene with three Buddha's like the one just discussed no. 54, would not be out of place. Should this conclusion prove correct, then the connection between the three Buddha's on no. 54 and the four on no. 46 in the first part of the reliefs, must not be overlooked. In this case not only the whole series no. 52—84 would belong to one story, but the history of the figure with the crescent might form an episode in the same text and for instance depict the youth of the chief person, so that in this way on the whole second half of the fourth gallery balustrade only one story would be represented. It will however not profit us to indulge in further suppositions which nothing but the discovery of the text can prove to be right or wrong. For the moment we must leave the question unsolved and turn to make a short summary of what is depicted on reliefs no. 52—84.

The two first scenes are very similar. The chief figure is an eminent man with a halo, seated on a throne in dhyāna-mudrā, a tree spreads its branches over his head; on no. 52 he sits on a lotuscushion wearing a broad belt, on no. 53 we see an ornemented belt round his body between the chest and navel. The other persons on both reliefs are differently grouped; on the first, left a large retinue, right, under a tree, eight people kneeling, the front one with hands folded in sĕmbah; on no. 53, a double panel, there are only two people on the left but a very large group of attendants on the right.

No. 54 is the scene already discussed, an eminent man with a halo doing homage to three Buddha's, then on no. 55 one Buddha is being worshipped; he sits in the middle on a lotuscushion in a small pĕndåpå, his now injured right hand was probably in vitarka-mudrā. On the right several bhikṣu's are sitting; left, behind a tall incensory, sits the wor-

shipper who has a halo, with his retinue. His curious headdress terminates in something that resembles a little round jar with a flowershaped lid. The next scene no. 56 also resembles no. 52; again a distinguished man with halo sitting in dhyāna-mudrā with a tree spread out over him in the middle of the relief. He also wears a belt like the chief person in the last relief. Left and right worshippers and attendants are sitting, the front one on the left makes a sĕmbah, on the right he is holding a censer. The last of those sitting on the right are placed on no. 57, that is very much damaged, but evidently shewed a conversation among a few persons. No. 58 gives us a distinguished man walking with a large company of attendants; a very plainly dressed man is kneeling before him. This relief has also suffered a great deal. Next, no. 59, again a scene of conversation and homage where the chief figure who has a halo, wears a scarf and sits in a pĕndåpå; the sculptor has attempted to depict this man facing sideways on his throne, but it looks as if he were slipping off this seat. Up in the lefthand top-corner we notice a servant holding a bowl with three pots or tied-up bags in it. The people seated on the extreme right of this relief and separated by a tree from the rest, belong to the scene following.

On the two next reliefs we find as chief actor, the figure distinguished by the stalk with the three buds, which I think represents the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra. In any case it appears that he is a Bodhisattva from the lotuscushion on which he is seated in a small pavilion on no. 60; on each side is a pĕndåpå with several worshippers and attendants, the two front ones on the right have their hands folded is sĕmbah, the first on the left holds a censer and a fan. On no. 61 the Bodhisattva is not in the middle of the relief, but there is an empty throne behind which rises a tree. The throne on which a large cushion is laid is of the usual style, ornemented on both sides with a lion standing on an elephants head and on top of the lion the makara-ornement. On the left stands the Bodhisattva with his branch of buds surrounded by attendants, one of them who is kneeling between him and the throne, holds in his hands an object we have not met with hitherto, it seems to be a cylinder-shaped jar with a lid and two handles. On the right is a group of kneeling worshippers offering bowls of flowers; in the background, the roof of a pĕndåpå can be seen.

The next two scenes have already been discussed: no. 62 the worship of two Budhda's with the sun and moon above the heads of four seated adorers, and no. 63 the miraculous apparition of jewels. Then on no. 64 we have another worship of two Buddha's who are distinguished by a border of flames at the back of their seat. The one on the left has a flame above his head as well, the one on the right has lost his uṣṇīṣa. Both sit

on lotuscushions, the righthand figure in vitarka-mudrā with the hem of his garment falling over the left shoulder, the other without the garment hem in bhūmisparça-mudrā. The lefthand group of worshippers and attendants are of the ordinary kind, but on the right six persons are sitting who wear their hair fastened up in locks, while the front one has a halo and a sash. The eminent man with a halo standing in the middle of no. 65 is receiving homage on both sides; on the right from a procession on their knees who bring offerings of bowls of flowers and some branches of blossom; there are several banners fixed up behind them in the background. The lefthand group are sitting with one man in front who wears a beard and is probably a brahman making a sĕmbah; two horses are to be seen above in the corner. After the already-discussed no. 66 with the celestial orbs, comes a scene where an eminent person with a halo and a retinue is conversing with no less than nine figures seated on a dais, they all seem to have a halo though those to the right have rather-damaged heads; some of them have a sash over the chest and shoulder and the only two whose headdress remains uninjured wear the tied-up locks of hair. Behind the attendants on the left, stands an elephant as in the preceding relief.

There are now two reliefs missing and then come two very dilapidated ones. On no. 70 is a Buddha seated in a niche with two bhikṣu's on his right and a group of worshippers on his left; on no. 71 we see a pavilion in the centre of which the Bodhisattva — so we must call the chief figure with the belt round his waist — is sitting, the same we have noticed on no. 53 and on no. 66. To the right of the pavilion a group of worshippers and armed attendants are seated with an elephant behind them; whatever was on the left has disappeared entirely.

No. 72 is intact. In the middle is a Buddha in dharmacakra-mudrā on a lotuscushion with a circle of flames at his back; on either side of him stands a man in the dress of high rank. Behind the one on the left is his retinue on their knees with two horses in the background; the man on the right who holds a flower between his hands folded in sĕmbah, is standing at the head of a row of seven seated persons, some with scarves; above their heads, flowers are falling from the clouds. The next three scenes have already been described; they are the miraculous trees (no. 73—75).

Perhaps from the two horses that appear behind the retinue of the eminent man with a halo who stands to the left on relief no. 76 we may conclude that he is meant for the same person as on no. 72; he is going to receive, (making a sĕmbah), six distinguished men who approach, the

front one having a halo. The right of this relief is taken up by a small pavilion in which a woman is sitting. No. 79 is another worship of a Buddha; he has been rather damaged but the position of the hand is still recognisable as dharmacakra-mudrā, and he sits in a pavilion on a lotuscushion. His worshippers are no less than ten men with a halo in royal dress, seven of whom are sitting in a pĕndåpå on the right and three on the left under a tree. At the left edge of the relief there is an eleventh also with a halo and one attendant; this man takes no part in the homage.

Now we get two reliefs small in size, and shewing something quite different to those so far discussed. No. 78 is a hell-scene; on the left it shews an eminent man with the belt round his waist, whose head is missing, standing with some attendants, his hands lifted in disapproval towards the scene before his eyes: a hell-cauldron on a fire of logs with four victims standing in it (one has one leg outside); in the background we see the tree whose leaves are swords, or rather on this relief the swords are hanging among the leaves. The top edge of this relief as well as the one following, is missing. On no. 79 we have first an enclosure with several animals, among which an elephant, horse, cow, pigs and a tree with a bird in it; above and at the side, rocks are indicated within which are two nearly-naked figures with loose hair, their faces turned towards the animals and at the same time towards the chief figure in the last relief. There appears to be no connection with the group on the right, three women or one man between two women, turning towards an eminent man on the extreme right who stands between two kneeling attendants, but the upper part of whose body has entirely disappeared. There is some foliage on each side of this figure. The sequence of hell, animals and human beings with loose hanging hair, makes that these scenes resemble those we have seen on the chief wall of the third gallery[1]) representing the visit of a Bodhisattva to hell, the animal world and the preta's. Another Buddha worship on no. 80; he is seated on a lotuscushion in a pavilion, the righthand probably in vitarka-mudrā. On each side of him are worshippers under a tree, left, in the front three bhikṣu's; further back stands a distinguished man with a halo and attendants, his hands in sĕmbah. No. 81 has already been described above; a person of high rank with a halo sits on a throne under a tree, his hands laid on his knee; worshippers and servants on either side of him, in the background on the extreme left is an elephant, the same as in the following scene. No. 82 shews a pĕndåpå, on the right in which sits a Bodhisattva

[1]) See above p. 82—83.

with a halo on a lotuscushion and a few attendants behind him; in his left hand he holds a flowering branch and with his right he touches the headdress of an eminent man also with a halo, who is kneeling before him with hands folded in sĕmbah; the rest of this relief on the left is taken up by the large party of servants and attendants belonging to the last scene.

Finally no. 83 and 84 can be treated together. On both of them we see two niches with a Buddha on a lotuscushion receiving homage right and left from worshippers sitting under trees. On the first relief the lefthand Buddha is in vitarka-, the right in bhūmisparça-mudrā; on the second the positions are respectively dhyāna- and vitarka-mudrā. [1])

[1]) For detailed description of IVB 43—84, see Dutch edition, p. 595—600.

CHAPTER X

THE DHYĀNI-BUDDHA'S AND THE CHIEF STATUE

When on approaching the Barabuḍur, we come near enough to distinguish the details, what first catches our eye before the rows of reliefs become visible, are the many Buddha-images in their niches all round the monument. They rise in five rows, one above the other, and the first impression the monument makes on the mind of the modern visitor, must be the same received by the pilgrim of ancient days: that his eyes beheld a sanctuary of Buddha's. This impression grows stronger on entering the monument and contemplating the Buddha's seated in their dome-shaped stūpa's on the terraces, where the severe rejection of all ornement reveals that, whatever the lower-placed Buddha-figures may be meant to signify, here the designer of the sanctuary in any case must have intended the beholder to concentrate his thoughts on the Buddha's, without allowing them to be distracted by other objects. Another thing which proves what great significance must have been attached to these Buddha-figures [1]) in the plan of the whole monument, is the reverent devotion with which the sculptors evidently worked on them, moulding them into noble forms of the finest conception. These Buddha's of Barabuḍur are undoubtedly among the finest creations achieved by Hindu-Javanese art.

It is to Wilhelm von Humboldt we owe the discovery that these Buddha's are not to be considered individually, but must be explained as forming part of one system. This system he recognised as that of the Dhyāni-Buddha's, made known shortly before from the Buddhism of Nepal by Hodgson. That von Humboldt judged correctly as regards the main-point [2]) —in details his explanation needed some revision — is

[1]) Such series of Buddha's in niches are not specially Mahāyānistic; see for instance Hiuen Tsiang (Beal, Si-yu-ki, II, 1884, p. 45 sq.), the description of the Mṛgadāva-monastery of the Saṃmatīya's.

[2]) Über die Kawi-Sprache auf der Insel Java I (1836), p. 127—137. Comp. Burnouf, Introduction à l'histoire du Buddhisme indien (1844), p. 347.

now proved beyond doubt, since other sources have revealed that the Dhyāni-Buddha's were actually worshipped in Java [1]). The first task for us is to examine what is known elsewhere of these beings and the manner in which they were depicted.

To give an actual definition of what is meant by a Dhyāni-Buddha, is impossible; I retain this term, now universally accepted, though the name Jina is more correct and was the only one used in Java. What the original conception was, is not revealed by any of the sources available. What is found there seems to be a mixture of originally differing forms of thought, among which it is not easy to pick out the integral parts. Some more or less distinct theistic or atheistic opinions are to be distinguished, even though it can not be discerned which are the older and more original. Dhyāni-Buddha literally translated, means Meditative-Buddha, in the sense of one who manifests himself only in meditation, either, taken personally, created by dhyāna and exercising his creative power in dhyāna, or revealing himself to the mind of man as a transcendental, an ideal Buddha.

The theistic view is best known from what Hodgson relates of the ideas of the Aiçvarika's of Nepal [2]). They believe in the existence of a primeval Buddha who is the origin of everything, the Ādi-Buddha, self-created, eternal and omniscient, having a five-fold gnosis (jñāna). By the power of this jñāna he created through the corresponding five-fold meditation (dhyāna), five Meditative Buddha's, not for eternal existence but intended to begin and end with the present universe, each having the enjoyment of that special kind of jñāna from which he received his being. The Ādi-Buddha's creative work here comes to an end, but neither do the Dhyāni-Buddha's take any active part in the creation and control of the universe. In the same kind of way they themselves were called into being, they each create a Bodhisattva by the power of their own dhyāna and these Dhyāni-Bodhisattva's become each in turn the guardian of the universe. The present world is the work of the fourth Dhyāni-Bodhisattva Avalokiteçvara, which explains why this one at our time is held in such special honour.

On the other hand the atheistic view does not recognise any Ādi-Buddha. The five Dhyāni-Buddha's are considered as the five elements, the five senses and what is comprehensible to the senses. The existence

[1]) See here below the remarks on Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan and the images of Jajaghu. In Kern's Geschiedenis van het Buddhisme II (1884), p. 174, the question is considered to be still uncertain.

[2]) Essays on the languages, literature and religion of Nepál and Tibet (1874), p. 27 sq. and 58 sq.

of the Bodhisattva's is recognised and everywhere they are found, their names and sequence as well as those of the five Dhyāni-Buddha's, appear to be identical. The Buddha's names are consecutively Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha and Amoghasiddha (or °siddhi), the Bodhisattva's are Samantabhadra, Vajrapāṇi, Ratnapāṇi, Padmapāṇi, (i.e. Avalokiteçvara) and Viçvapāṇi.

In both systems the Dhyāni-Buddha's come into direct relation with the human Buddha's in such a way that every Buddha who appears on the earth and is therefore restricted by his human existence, reveals himself at the same time in the world of forms and in the formless world has neither name nor existence. The image of the earthly, mortal Buddha is reflected in the sphere of the dhyāna in glorified radiance; imprisoned in material form he is no more than a shadow of the real Buddha in the transcendental world, the real existence. Thus a Mānuṣi- and a Dhyāni-Buddha are continually placed together and for instance the Dhyāni-Buddha of the present universe, Amitābha, coincides with the earthly incarnation of Çākyamuni. The Dhyāni-Bodhisattva is created by the Dhyāni-Buddha to be the guardian of his creed after his earthly image has disappeared.

This is not the place to indulge in further investigation of the various theories about these beings. Let us only notice that a system of Dhyāni-Buddha's is possible both with and without the belief in an Ādi-Buddha. We shall now examine what is iconographically known about the Dhyāni-Buddha's. It appears then for example in Nepal and Tibet, that a special heavenly region is given to four of them. We shall not dispute the originality of this system; perhaps the generally followed placing of Amitābha in the far West, also known from Indian sources, may have caused his colleagues to be ascribed to other fixed points of the compass. At any rate it can be stated that wherever the four quarters are mentioned in Nepal, the position of the Dhyāni-Buddha's is always the same and we find them represented turned in the same directions on the Nepal caitya's: Akṣobhya to the East, Ratnasambhava to the South, Amitābha to the West and Amoghasiddha to the North. These four are distinguished by the position of their hands and these mudrā's seem too, where described or depicted, to be fixed for the four Dhyāni-Buddha's abovementioned; consecutively as bhūmisparça-, vara-, dhyāna- and abhaya-mudrā. In Tibet the point of the compass and position of the

[1]) For this Kāma-, Rūpa- and Arūpa-dhatu, comp. I p. 77; for the whole argument see Koeppen, Die Religion des Buddha II (1859) p. 26.

hands varies[1]); the reason for describing what is done in Nepal, is that evidently the same way was customary in Java. The four names with the positions according to the Nepal system, are clearly given in the Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan [2]), the images, identified by their inscriptions as Ratnasambhava and Akṣobhya at Jajaghu shew the identical vara- and bhūmisparça-mudrā [3]), and when we find on Barabuḍur Buddha-images in bhūmisparça- to the East, vara- to the South, dhyāna- to the West and abhaya-mudrā to the North, surely no other conclusion is possible than that we have before us the Dhyāni-Buddha's, represented according to the system of Nepal.

I have not yet mentioned Vairocana as some doubt exists about him. Generally his place is in the middle of the four others on a higher level, he is of course the most important of the group and is besides usually considered as the ruler of the zenith. He also sometimes appears on the East. His position is always the dharmacakra-mudrā, but the peculiarity occurs in Java that the above-quoted Old-Javanese text does not speak of dharmacakra- but of dhvaja-mudrā. The Vairocana image of Jajaghu that might here be of great authority has unfortunately disappeared. The term dhvaja-mudrā is not known to us elsewhere; it is very possible that by this is meant the position in which the right hand is clasped round the left and the lifted up first finger of the lefthand is held by the first finger of the righthand, a position that continually appears in Java, and is also a characteristic of the Mahāvairocana-Ādi-Buddha of the Japanese Shingon sect [4]).

Let us first see what the monument itself shews us. First we find the Buddha's sitting in niches in five rows placed in the upper part of the outer walls of the galleries and further in dome-shaped open-worked stūpa's on the terraces in three rows. Except for the varying mudrā's, all the Buddha's of these eight rows are represented in the same manner; seated on a lotuscushion in the so-called vajrāsana, i.e. with legs crossed Indian fashion, the right leg placed in front of the left and the soles of both feet turned up. Their dress is the monk's garment that hangs close to the body leaving the right shoulder bare; everywhere the edge of it can be seen going from the left shoulder under the right arm, but otherwise the garment clings so close to the body, that the left breast and navel are shewn as plainly as if the figure were actually naked. An edge

[1]) Grünwedel, Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei (1900) p. 99.
[2]) Edition Kats, fol. 52a, see p. 59 and 107.
[3]) Plate 5 and 6 of Brandes' monograph (1904).
[4]) Moens, Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. 58, p. 524 sq.

of the garment can be discerned from the left wrist downwards and then along the right ankle beneath which it lies in conventional folds; occasionally a double edge is to be seen that indicates the upper and under garment of the monk's dress. The head rests on a neck with the three creases of happiness in it, the lobes of the ears are lengthened, the eyes down cast as becomes a meditative-Buddha. On the forehead, just above the root of the nose a small round lump is placed, the ūrṇā, one of the signs of the Buddha- (and Bodhisattva-) ship. The head is not shaved like the monk's, but arranged in the form of small curls twisted to the right close to the head. In the middle of the skull rises a round protuberance, covered too with hair, the uṣṇīṣa, that is also a certain sign of every Buddha. Besides their beautiful proportions, these images are noticeable for the "Aryan" character of their features, entirely unlike the native style of countenance. With the exception of a few less-noticeable specimens, the sculptors have succeeded in investing all these figures, singly, as well as in their grouping, with an immense dignity of spiritual distinction and tranquillity of mind, a serenity lifted far above the things of this world, into godlike and majestic composure. Divine calmness "Apparet divum numen sedesque quietæ", as we read in the famous lines of Lucretius [1]), atheist as any Buddhist with regard to the gods of his own universe, who troubled themselves just as little as the Dhyāni-Buddha's about what happened on earth. Here indeed, beneath the skies of Java where "semper innubilis æther integit et large diffuso lumine rident", in the Buddha's of the Barabuḍur, we can recognise the same immutable beings whom "nulla res animi pacem delibat tempore in ullo".

The individual beauty of these figures of Buddha is enhanced by the way in which they are placed, first in the rows of niches with their wonderful effects of light and shade, then hardly visible, in the open-work stūpa's on the terraces. This is so finely appreciated by Rouffaer [2]) who says, in his well-known article on the art of the Javan monuments: "The lattice-worked Dagob's, these domes built of X shaped stones whose massive trellis-work encloses the seated Buddha partly-hidden, partly-revealed, are one of the original and marvellous ideas of the Barabuḍur that distinguish its unknown designer as a builder of the greatest genius. How deeply felt is it all; first the believer is led along the several ascending terraces, past the many images of the Master in the open niches with their mystic light and shade, past walls covered with scenes depicting his life, his previous lives and his triumphs, and then brought

[1]) De natura deorum III, 18—24.

[2]) De Gids 1901, II, p. 248.

out on to the highest pinnacle, open to the four winds, where in three round tiers the first Meditative Buddha with his symbolic gesture reveals to him the Highest Law, his sacred form within the dome half-hidden from the eyes of his worshippers."

The great value of these works of art lies undoubtedly in the esoteric meaning signified by the way in which they are placed. As regards the details it might be possible to differ from Rouffaer's opinion; but no one could dispute the devout meaning of this sequence and the climax achieved thereby. Whatever else may be included, the original intention of the builder remains unmistakeably clear, i.e. to lead the mind of the worshipper gradually higher into purer spheres and greater sanctity.

As we have noticed, it is only the position of the hands that distinguishes these Buddha's from one another. By this I do not mean that there is absolutely no difference in other points; they are not machine-made, the sculptors who carved these figures one by one, could not of course make a hundred similar, uniform specimens. Fortunately not, but the intentional variation is only in the mudrā. In the four lowest rows on the East side of the monument, the left hand is laid open in the lap, the right hand, palm down, laid on the right knee with fingers hanging just over it: bhūmisparça-mudrā, not very suitably named, for it is intended to recall Çākyamuni touching the earth when he appealed to her as a witness [1]), and in sculpture the fingers are never depicted touching the ground. The Buddha's in the four lower rows on the South side also have the left hand lying in the lap and the right resting just below the knee, but now with the palm turned up, forming the vara-mudrā, the bestowal of favour. On the West side, the four rows of figures have both hands open in the lap with the thumbs touching; the attitude of meditation, dhyāna-mudrā. Finally in the four rows on the North, while the left hand remains open in the lap, the right is turned up, fingers close together with the palm facing us and the wrist resting on the left foot, the position that signifies „be not afraid", abhaya-mudrā. Each of these groups consists of 92 Buddha-images.

Above in the fifth row the position is the same to all the four points of the compass; these Buddha's, 64 in all, shew an attitude differing only from the one just-described by the fingers of the up-lifted right hand being not all close together, but the first finger being bent and touching the top of the thumb. This is vitarka-mudrā, the gesture of preaching or discussion.

[1]) See above I page 201.

On the terraces in each of the bell-shaped stūpa's, 72 in number, there is a Buddha seated in dharmacakra-mudrā, the position of revolving the wheel of the Law, that is, the attitude of preaching the Creed. Both hands in front of the body, the left palm upwards, the right held up in profile in such a way that the tips of the third fingers touch, while the thumb and middlefinger of the left hand also touch at the top. As noticed before, the Buddha's in the three rows of stūpa's are similar, but there is some difference between the stūpa's themselves, by the two lower rows being larger in size and by the openings in the lattice-worked sides being diamond-shaped in the two lower, and square in the higher row.

The top row encircles the central-stūpa of the whole monument and in this stūpa a Buddha image was found too; it differs in two things from the others. First, it was entirely hidden from sight, the chief stūpa being closed. Secondly, it is unfinished. We can see, that in the main it is intended to resemble and agree with the other Buddha's, but the surface of the whole figure is rough, the details unfinished; for instance the hair is not yet carved or the fingers and toes worked out. The position of the hands shews the attitude to be bhūmisparça-mudrā.

What can be the explanation of all this, so evidently closely-connected? We shall do well to begin with what stands undoubtedly proved, the Buddha's in the niches of the four lower rows.

Taking it as an accepted fact that these figures, both in position and gesture are quite in agreement with the system of the Dhyāni-Buddha's that rules in Nepal, we must conclude that the same system was followed in Java. We must therefore reject Yule's theory that they may be various Mānuṣi-Buddha's [1]; it is true that other Mānuṣi-Buddha's than Çākyamuni and Maitreya are sometimes depicted, but they are nowhere arranged in an established system in Buddhism nor is any rule fixed for their attitudes or position to the points of the compass. Where on the other hand an actual Dhyāni-Buddha system with fixed mudrā's agrees with what is found on the Barabuḍur, I think it would be utterly unreasonable to overlook this striking coincidence. It is in my opinion, proved that in the four lower rows, on the East, Akṣobhya, on the South, Ratnasambhava, on the West, Amitābha, and on the North, Amoghasiddha are to be found.

We may then expect to see in the middle and higher placed than these, Vairocana. But it appears that we find more than we expected;

[1]) Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc. New Series 4 (1870) p. 421.

first the fifth row of Buddha's seated in the niches, turning to all sides, in the vitarka-mudrā, and then the three rows of Buddha's in dharmacakra-mudrā within the domes. It is plain that one of the two kinds of Buddha's must personify Vairocana; but which of the two? And what do the Buddha's in the other mudrā represent?

Leemans' monograph approves of the opinion that Vairocana is seated in the bell-shaped stūpa's, and the attitude of the dharmacakra-mudrā strengthens this view, for it is often given to him. On the other hand the explanation offered for the Buddha's in vitarka-mudrā, not without hesitation [1]), is not very convincing i.e. that on account of the slight difference between the attitude of these figures and that of the Buddha's on the North side below, the fifth row should represent Amoghasiddha, who for some unexplainable reason is given precedence over his colleagues. This suggestion I consider quite unacceptable, not only because neither in Java nor elsewhere do we find any greater importance given to Amoghasiddha above the other Dhyāni-Buddha's, but also for the indisputable fact that although the abhaya- and vitarka-mudrā do not differ much in appearance, they are very distinctly separated in the whole Buddhist iconography and each have their special meaning. It is impossible to overlook this.

Nor is IJzerman's view more satisfactory, that the four lower rows may represent the four Dhyāni-Buddha's, the fifth the Mānuṣi-Buddha's and that Vairocana is placed on the terraces [2]). Not only in that case no distinction whatever would be made between the seven (or eight) Mānuṣi-Buddha's so that it would be impossible to see how the seven or eight are divided among the 64 images, but the exactly similar appearance of these Mānuṣi- and the Dhyāni-Buddha's is quite unlikely to give the spectator any clear idea which of these different beings he has before his eyes. Another great objection to this theory is that it is impossible to imagine that on a monument in all respects so systematically designed, these figures could be arranged in such a way; first four of the Dhyāni-Buddha's, then quite another sort of Buddha and then the fifth Dhyāni-Buddha that belongs to the first four.

Foucher offers another explanation [3]). If four of the Dhyāni-Buddha's are placed in the four lower rows, he argues, then it is plain that the fifth

[1]) Pag. 453 and 469.

[2]) Versl. Meded. Kon. Acad. v. Wetensch. Afd. Lett. 3de Reeks: 4 (1887), p. 209—211; and also in Tijdschr. Aardr. Genootsch. 2de Serie: 16 (1899) p. 313. That the Buddha in vitarka-mudrā may be Çākyamuni was also suggested in the Guide to the Paris Exhibition of 1900 (Guide à travers la section des Indes Neérlandaises) p. 271.

[3]) Notes d'Archéologie bouddhique, Bull. Ec. franç. d'Extr. Or. 9 (1909) p. 44 sq.

Dhyāni-Buddha must follow them, thus the Buddha in vitarka-mudrā is Vairocana, even if we must allow that the position of his hands is generally the dharmacakra-mudrā. The list of five Dhyāni-Buddha's being completed by the figures in the niches, the images on the terraces as well as that in the chief stūpa will represent Çākyamuni. According to Foucher's view therefore, the Buddha's under the domes all represent the historic Buddha, but there is no further evidence to prove it being correct. This is rather similar to Von Humboldt's suggestion, afterwards withdrawn, that under the domes would be Maitreya, the Buddha of the future [1]).

With the first part of Foucher's opinion I am entirely able to agree. It seems quite evident that the fifth Dhyāni-Buddha should immediately follow the fourth without something else being first pushed in between. It is in favour of this view that all the five Dhyāni-Buddha's who belong together are placed in the same manner in niches at the top of the chief walls and that in accordance with the regulation four of them face their own point of the compass, the fifth being in the middle on a higher level. On the other hand the mudrā is not an overruling objection; the meaning of "instruction" and "argument" are sufficiently alike to make a transition from one to the other position of the hands quite comprehensible. But it is only natural we should inquire why here in the case of Vairocana the elsewhere usual mudrā is omitted? The reason of this may be that in the system here followed, this mudrā was already reserved for another Buddha and therefore the vitarka-mudrā was given to Vairocana. This other Buddha is then the one placed under the domes, so that if this reasoning is correct, the fact of Vairocana *not* having the dharmacakra-mudrā seems to imply that the Buddha who does shew this attitude is also connected with the system of Dhyāni-Buddha's as a whole.

Yet this is not the special reason why I am not able to agree with the second part of his supposition, the recognition of Çākyamuni as the Buddha in the bell-shaped stūpa's. The chief objection to this is the way in which the necessary climax in the majestic conception of the Barabuḍur would be lost. The higher we ascend, the wider rises our spiritual horizon. At the foot of the monument we contemplate the misery caused by the wheel of life and the unavoidable, inevitable law of Karman is brought before our eyes in impressive scenes. Following on this we are shewn how the Buddha preached the Law of Salvation; how in this his last earthly

[1]) Kawi-Sprache l.l. p. 133.

existence he attained Buddha-ship for which task he qualified himself by many deeds of self-sacrifice through innumerable former incarnations. Next comes the famous story of the seeker after the Highest Wisdom, the symbolic meaning of whose wanderings, the artist who conceived the design of the Barabuḍur must surely have discerned and rightly estimated, though in choosing the text he must also have been attracted by its suitability for representation in sculpture. Then comes a gallery dedicated to the Saviour of the Future, the next so anxiously awaited Buddha, and as we ascend higher our vision reaches wider, and our gaze is fixed on the Bodhisattva who shall appear as the last Buddha to be honoured as highest of all. All this stretches from an ancient past into a still further removed future. Throned above all these exemples of former and expected salvation, not influencing, yet guarding them, and as it were uniting them in one mighty universal plan, the Buddha's of the Dhyāna are seated round, with eyes closed, each in the direction ascribed to him, the fifth above in the centre. We rise still higher, pass through the last doorway and stand in the severe simplicity of the terraces, leaving all the shifting scenes behind us. Can we imagine that after having been shewn the uttermost future we are to be drawn back again to the toiling earth, to the things that held our thoughts on the first gallery, the preaching of Çākyamuni? Without doubt the now-existing world looks upon this Buddha as the pre-eminent one, the preacher of salvation, but in that system of the Buddhist cosmos which the Barabuḍur reveals to our mind, so much greater in time and extent, the preaching of Çākyamuni, however important at the present day, is lost in the magnitude of the whole conception. Our attention has already been drawn to what is to come, to what lies beyond earthly appearance, so that to place his image above the eschatological Samantabhadra-texts and the Dhyāni-Buddha's, would be a falling-back of the greater to the less, from a higher to a lower sphere.

The same can be said of Maitreya, who is also supposed to be the Buddha under the bell-shaped domes; quite appropriate on the third gallery, he would be out of place above the fourth and surely above the Dhyāni-Buddha's. If the Barabuḍur means to represent ascension — and everything we see on the monument gives that impression — then the Buddha's on the terraces can be nothing less than a Being greater than the five Dhyāni-Buddha's.

For this reason I am compelled to look for those planation in another direction than Foucher has done. A Buddha sudhe, we may here expect, an ideal, not an earthly one, akin to the Dhyani-Buddha's yet raised

above them, is not unknown. Let us first turn to the Buddhism of Nepal that has already shewn such importance for the Dhyāni-Buddha system also in force in Java, and see how according to Hodgson, next to the group of five, there is one of six by the addition of the Buddha Vajrasattva, who is described as the highest and most powerful; so as to the others are ascribed the elements, the senses and the objects of the senses, so to him is given the intellect, the understandingand the subjects of comprehension [1]; just as the material world is under the control of the five, the spiritual world emanates from the sixth, who is the creator of the mind, of the power of thought and feeling [2]. This series of six Dhyāni-Buddha's is found in the sacred scripture of what according to Csoma, is the oldest Buddhist sect in Tibet [3], and in the Kañjur it is Vajrasattva who acts as president of the Dhyāni-Buddha's [4]. He is also mentioned as the first of the celestial beings worthy of honour among the Svabhāvika's [5], he is considered as the highest Intelligence [6] in Tibet, and in China he is known as the sixth Dhyāni-Buddha, specially honoured by, even considered as the founder of the Yogācārya sect [7], a fact the importance of which I shall discuss later. There is evidently no doubt, that according to the views of some Buddhists, Vajrasattva was regarded as the sixth Dhyāni-Buddha and at the same time as a being of special importance among them, even as a kind of Highest God.

In this last mentioned quality he is identified with another of the most exalted Buddha-figures, Vajradhara, though in other places he is given a separate personality. For instance the two are represented conversing together [8], or their relation can be described as being that Vajrasattva appears as vice-president and Vajradhara as president of the Dhyāni-Buddha's [9], while the latter is then considered as the Ādi-

[1]) See Essays etc. quoted above p. 29, comp. p. 94.

[2]) Note on the list of contents of the Naipāliya Devata Kalyāna, Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng. 12 (1843), p. 400.

[3]) See note Hodgson Essays, p. 29.

[4]) Rgyud XX, 1, according to Feer, Analyse du Kandjour, Annales Mus. Guim. 2 (1881), p. 473. Also Grünwedel, Mythologie etc. p. 98; Padma Thang Yig, Journ. Asiat. 203 (1923) p. 293.

[5]) Hodgson, Essays, p. 73. As speaker in Nepal sūtra's he is mentioned Essays p. 19 sq.

[6]) Rgyud III, 6; Feer l.l. Cf. Si-dô-In-dzou (Ann. Mus. Guim. 8, 1899) p. XIII, 72, 103, 115—118.

[7]) Eitel, Handbook of Chinese Buddhism (1888) p. 191; Edkins, Chinese Buddhism (1880) p. 169.

[8]) Rgyud XXI, 3; Feer l.l.

[9]) Pander, Das Pantheon des Tschangtscha Hutuktu, Veröffent. Kön. Mus. f. Völk. Berlin I (1890) p. 59.

Buddha of Nepal Buddhists[1]). In other cases the two names seem to be used for the same being [2]), the highest of all Buddha's. The ideas about these two Buddha's are very much mixed, nowhere do we find any fundamental distinction stated, such as is clearly shewn between Vajrasattva and the five other Dhyāni-Buddha's. We get the impression that Vajradhara is secundary to the more original Vajrasattva; for we meet with the last named in places where Vajradhara is unknown, while on the other hand Vajradhara is only mentioned in systems in which Vajrasattva also figures.

The fact being thus established that the Buddha Vajrasattva appears on the one hand as sixth and most important of the five Dhyāni-Buddha's and on the other hand as a kind of highest Buddha of the universe, in some actual Buddhist views the most exalted of divine beings, I consider we are justified in supposing that Vajrasattva is the figure placed in the bell-shaped stūpa's above the five Dhyāni-Buddha's on the terraces of Barabuḍur; so it will appear that a fixed system has been followed, the climax is preserved and in the highest position we find the most sublime Buddha. There is just one objection to this identification and that we must bear in mind. It is the iconographical fact that everywhere Vajrasattva is seen depicted, he is never represented as a Buddha but in the full dress of a Bodhisattva with two fixed attributes, a vajra and a temple bell. This representation of him appears to be accepted generally, in India itself [3]) and as well in Nepal and Tibet [4]) as in Java [5]). Even in his more complicated forms the Bodhisattva costume is adhered to [6]).

[1]) Pander l.l. and Das Lamaische Pantheon, Zeitschr. f. Ethnol. 1889 p. 61; Waddell, The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism (1895) p. 130. Comp. Mem. As. Soc. Beng. I, 1 (1905) p. 21.

[2]) Feer, Analyse l.l. p. 473; Schlagintweit, Le Bouddhisme au Tibet, Annales Musée Guimet 3 (1881) p. 34. The shifting of the personality shews clearly in the last-mentioned place. The first of the Buddha's is called both Vajradhara and Vajrasattva; later on it appears as if Vajradhara is too sublime to take interest in anything and Vajrasattva is in the same condition towards him as a Mānuṣi- to a Dhyāni-Buddha. In Grünwedel, Mythol. l.l., both are spoken of as forms of the same being. See also Wassiljew, Der Buddhismus (1860) p. 205 (188) and comp. Getty, The gods of Northern Buddhism (1914) p. 3—6 and 26—28.

[3]) Foucher, Etude sur l'iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde I (1900) p. 123; Hodgson, Essays p. 136.

[4]) Bhagvânlâl Indrajî, The Bauddha Mythology of Nepâl, Appendix to Arch. Surv. West. India 9 (1879) no. 23; Pander, Zeitschr. f. Ethn. l.l. fig. 1, Pantheon p. 59; Grünwedel, Mythologie p. 98 sq.; Schlagintweit l.l. p. 2; Getty l.l. p. 5.

[5]) Groeneveldt, Catalogus der Archeologische Verzameling van het Bat. Gen. v.'Kunst. en Wet. (1887) p. 175 sq.; Juynboll, Catalogus van 's Rijks Ethnogr. Mus. V, Jav. Oudheden (1909), p. 86 sq.; the author in Rapp. Oudh. Comm. 1912 p. 42—44. These are all in bronze; two stone Vajrasattva's are preserved in the Museum at Madjakĕrta under no. 116 (Oudheidk. Versl. 1913 p. 35) and no. 542.

[6]) Lulius van Goor, Oudk. Versl. 1918, p. 33—39; Moens, ibid. p. 86—93.

If we examine first of all the Tibet representations, it then appears that no argument can be drawn from them against Vajrasattva being portrayed in Buddha-form. Difference between him and the five other Dhyāni-Buddha's exists only where they are depicted alone. But the most usual form of representation is that where all six are holding a çakti on their lap and in that case the five others also hold various emblems and they are *all* in the dress of Bodhisattva's. Thus Vajrasattva and the five other Dhyāni-Buddha's are treated in the same manner and strangely enough all these Buddha's lay aside their Buddha-form.

On looking carefully, we can see elsewhere that the difference between Buddha and Bodhisattva is not always strictly preserved and that is quite comprehensible; for a Buddha has been a Bodhisattva and can therefore be pourtrayed in his former condition, and a Bodhisattva is intended to become a Buddha and can be shewn as he is to be in the future. It need not appear strange for us to find Maitreya depicted as a Buddha [1]), Avalokiteçvara as Buddha [2]), or other Bodhisattva's in Buddha-form; but it is the more surprising to see the Dhyāni-Buddha's who are just the only ones who have never been Bodhisattva's, represented in that shape. It is thus very important that in this case we have no special Tibetan custom before us. There exists a striking example from Java itself.

In the Museum at Leiden is a small bronze figure [4]), that represents a person in the full dress of a Bodhisattva seated beside a çakti who also holds her hands in dharmacakra-mudrā. On the inside of the pedestal is an inscription in Old-Javanese, W e r o c a n ā, which identifies this figure in Bodhisattva-dress as no other than the Dhyāni-Buddha Vairocana. Another indication in the same direction can perhaps be found in the Old-Javanese poem Nāgarakṛtāgama, where an Akṣobhya image wearing a makuṭa [5]) is spoken of, also one evidently not in the usual appearance of a Buddha. When we see that Vairocana, who is continually represented as a Buddha, was also depicted as Bodhisattva, it will not seem strange that we find Vajrasattva, generally shewn as Bodhisattva, was also represented in the form of a Buddha.

[1]) Schlagintweit, Bouddhisme, pl. 9, Getty l.l. pl. 14 and 15.

[2]) Foucher, l.l. p. 94 sq.

[3]) Daya Ram Sahni, Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sārnāth (1914) p. 34. Comp. Bosch in Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. 57 (1916) p. 114 sq.

[4]) Juynboll, Catalogue p. 80 no. 2862, and plate XI, 2.

[5]) Nag. 56 : 2. Comp. Poerbatjaraka in Oudh. Versl. 1917, p. 143—147 and the author's notes on p. 282—285 of Kern's edition (1919).

We have already learned how in Nepal and Tibet he was regarded actually as "Buddha" and we shall see that it was the same in Java. For this we must again consult the Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan.

It appears at once that Vajrasattva was not only known in the Buddhism of Java [1]), but held a very important position. The vow that was made by the disciple consecrating himself to the secret creed, was called Vajrasattva and opened the path to the Highest Wisdom, the vajrajñāna; it is Vajrasattva who is the all-seeing one, the Master in the opening of the eyes; Vajrasattva the pure, the unsullied, the immaculate one is in the heart of the faithful disciple. These are quotations from Sanskrit verses [2]) and the Old-Javanese text explains them. Vajrasattva is expressly called in the verse the Lord of all Buddha's, *sarvabuddhādipaḥ* and in the prose text the same statement will be found that he is taken as Head of all Buddha's, *tuwi ta pinaka pradhāna sang sarbwa tathāgata sira*. Another remarkable fact is the appearance of the name Vajradhara, not in the Sanskrit verses but exclusively in Old-Javanese, in two places where the name Vajradhara is evidently meant only as another name for Vajrasattva. After Vajrasattva as we have seen, being mentioned as the one who opens the eyes of the disciple, and described as patron and helper, comes the statement that when the scholar has given his attention to the samaya and his heart has been freed of all ignorance, he has been "cultivated" by the exalted Lord Vajradhara [3]). Not quite similar to the two just quoted, but certainly not negligible, there is a third place in Sanskrit verse, where Vajradharāḥ are spoken of, in the plural, according to the context intended as a synonym for the Buddha's who protect the neophyte, while the prose text relates in explanation that it is the Lord Vajrasattva who becomes his protector [5]). In this way, it is shewn plainly that while both the names Vajrasattva and Vajradhara were known to the Old-Javanese commentator, he knows of no special distinction between the two beings, so that their personality is mixed and both may be regarded as Buddha. In the second of the two

[1]) This appears too from several mantra's that begin with an invocation to Vajrasattva, see Juynboll, Supplement op den Catalogus van de Javaansche en Madoereesche handschriften der Leidsche Universiteits-Bibliotheek II (1911) p. 349 no. MCMXLVII and p. 373 no. MMLVI; comp. p. 367 no. MMXXVI.

[2]) They are to be found in fol. 13b, 14a, 16a (p. 21 and 23 in the text, 75 and 77 in the translation). For the Sanskrit verses see Speyer, Ein altjavanischer mahāyānistischer Katechismus, Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch. 67 (1913), p. 349, 356—358. I shall refer again to the whole work in chapt. XIII.

[3]) Fol. 15a, p. 22 and 76.

[4]) Fol. 16b, p. 23 and 77.

[5]) Fol. 17a-b, p. 24 and 78; Speyer l.l. p. 358.

pieces of which the Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan consists, Vajrasattva is even incorporated with the Dhyāni-Buddha's; that is in a Sanskrit verse that mentions five, reckoning Vajrasattva as one of them and omitting Akṣobhya; the Javanese expounder then leaves out Vajrasattva and replaces him again by Akṣobhya [1]).

All this makes it easy to understand, how Vajrasattva may have come to be represented on the Barabuḍur monument in the form of a Buddha, even while he is found elsewhere in an other form. Besides it seems so appropriate to depict him as Buddha where he was to appear in connection with the five ordinary Dhyāni-Buddha's; the union of the whole group into one system is brought clearly to notice in this way and at the same time, by placing Vajrasattva on the terraces and under the domes, it is shewn that although belonging to the Dhyāni-Buddha's, he is all the same distinguished from them, and placed high above them, impersonating a more exalted idea.

There was thus every reason when deciding to place Vajrasattva on the terraces, to give him the form and quality of a Buddha and take away his Bodhisattva-emblems, — by which I do not mean to say that this must have been a Javanese innovation; the whole system will have been adopted with a Vajrasattva in Buddha-form, — and so he would have to be distinguished from the other Dhyāni-Buddha's by the mudrā. One special position was the most appropriate. We learned from the Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan that it is Vajrasattva who opens the eyes of the novice, dispels his ignorance and guides him into the path towards the Highest Wisdom, thus he is the great Teacher. In this quality he was regarded in Nepal as the instructor of all [2]). If this were not evidence enough, then the Old-Javanese text speaks in actual words of Vajrasattva's Wheel of the Law, *dharmmacakra bhaṭāra çrī Bajradhara*. Obviously the only position possible must be the dharmacakra-mudrā. To portray Vajrasattva as Buddha, it became necessary to change Vairocana's usual position for another similar one.

Taking everything into consideration, the most likely explanation of the six kinds of separate Buddha's on the Barabuḍur, seems to be that they represent the five Dhyāni-Buddha's and Vajrasattva. But we must not overlook the fact that the figure of Vajrasattva gradually lost precedence in Java and was obliged to yield place to Vairocana. Though we may find him on this monument whose Buddhism, as proved by the texts identified on the galleries, was derived directly from Indian sources,

[1]) Fol. 58b, p. 66 and 113.

[2]) Bhagvânlâl Indraji, l.l. p. 102.

and though we find him in the Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan, being partly a commentary on Sanskrit mantra's, yet on the other hand in a popular work like the legend of Kuñjarakarṇa [1]), there is no trace of Vajrasattva to be found; here Vairocana is the great Teacher, seated in a palace with the significant name of Bodhicitta, and the same view is retained in the second part of the Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan, that is a step further removed from the Sanskrit original than the first-mentioned. In our last chapter, which treats of the place the Barabuḍur takes in Javanese Buddhism, and describes the Java Mahāyāna in general, I shall speak more fully on these points, to which it is here necessary to allude.

We now come to the image in the chief stūpa, the unfinished Buddha in bhūmisparça-mudrā. Before discussing its probable meaning, let us give an account of the way in which this remarkable image was discovered.

Before 1842, no one had any idea of its existence. Cornelius examined the inside of the central stūpa, so that among the plates of Raffles' second edition there is a section shewing the temple chamber [2]); Raffles himself speaks of the "Dome" and its ruined condition, for the pinnacle had collapsed, but not of anything being inside the chamber [3]). Crawfurd is more explicit, he distinctly states three times, that there was nothing in the central stūpa and that it appeared never to have contained anything; he gives a short description of the opening on the South side, through which the interior of the originally quite-closed-up dome could be seen, the inside space being small because of the thickness of the walls; then he relates how the floor of it forms a cavity to the depth of five feet below the level of the foundation on the outside, and that there is no image or trace of any image having been there [4]). The statement of the cavity five foot deep must not lead to the conclusion, that in Crawfurd's time the floor had been further excavated than the original floor of the chamber, that is just *above* the level of the highest terrace; for in his time the lower part of the central stūpa outside was still hidden in the sand so that Crawfurd naturally reckons the outside base a good bit higher than the level of the terrace, possibly about the height where the sidewalls on the

[1]) For this work already referred to in the description of the bells in chapt. II, see further chapt. XIII.

[2]) Plate 55 in the atlas of 1844.

[3]) History of Java II[1] (1817) p. 29; II[2] (1830) p. 30.

[4]) History of the Indian Archipelago II (1820) p. 198; On the ruins of Boro Budor in Java, Transact. Lit. Soc. of Bombay II (1820) p. 158 (= p. 167 sq. of re-print 1876); Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian islands (1856) p. 66.

outside begin to rise straight up. The condition appears to be the same in 1840, for which year we possess the evidence of two eye-witnesses. Valck states that the Chief-Deity seems to have disappeared from the dome in which the temple culminates [1]). The second piece of information comes from Van Hoëvell in the same year 1840, though the description was only published in 1858. The dome, he says, is quite closed; only one side of the square part at the top of it is not damaged entirely, the others have collapsed. The stūpa can be entered at the side which has fallen in, where one reaches the floor ten feet below. He cannot imagine what kind of statue was placed in this space, but thinks it must have been some very large image of Buddha, judging by the similarity of shape between this large stūpa and the small ones that also contain Buddha's. Thus it seems that at the time of his visit the breach did not reach to the bottom, but the opening by which he entered was about 10 ft. above the floor of the chamber, the upper-part having fallen in.

After a couple of short statements in 1844 and 1850 which have nothing special to say about the central stūpa, we hear something again in 1853 about its condition, and it then appears there is an unfinished image, spoken of as if it had been there for a long time. In this year an article was published by Wilsen who after having been at Barabuḍur for a short time in 1847, was at work there continually from 1849. In this article we read that a Buddha image, which with some metal objects had been found in the dome, is still there. Then follows a short description of the figure, the only noticeable fact being that its position is said to be the same as that of the Buddha's in the lowest rows on the North side [4]). That would then be the abhaya-mudrā. This becomes more curious in connection with remarks by Brumund written in 1857 or 1858 during a visit to the spot; here again we are told that an image of Buddha was found in the interior of the stūpa, and that it is still there, but in the description of the unfinished statue which follows, it is said that the hands are folded together in front [5]): this is of course the dhyāna-mudrā.

How the image came there can be read in Leemans' monograph [6]). In

[1]) Tijdschr. v. Nederl. Indië, 3, I (1840) p. 184.

[2]) Tijdschr. v. Nederl. Indië 1858, II, p. 113 sq. The article was published anonymously; that Van Hoëvell was the author is shewn by Rouffaer in Bijdr. Kon. Inst. 79 (1923) p. 591—597.

[3]) Tijdschr. v. Nederl. Indië 6, II (1844) p. 357 sq. and 1850, II, p. 226.

[4]) Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. 1 (1853) p. 254 sq.

[5]) Tijdschr. v. Nederl. Indië 1858, II, p. 282.

[6]) Pag. 96 sq.

1842, Hartman (i.e. Hartmann) [1]) the 'resident' of Kĕdu, had the interior of the dome examined. "It then appeared that the floor, entirely or partially broken up and dug out to a considerable depth below into the hill itself, had afterwards been filled in with the débris. On removing some of this, a large Buddha-image was brought to light resembling those under the small bell-shaped stūpa's and in the niches, but not so well-finished. It lay backwards in a slanting position, its head still some feet below the surface of the pavement and therefore lower than the level of the terrace. In loosening the ground, one of the workers struck the head with his pick axe and broke it off". In accordance with Brumund, Leemans thinks that the statue stood originally on the paved floor, but treasure-seekers broke into the stūpa, took up the pavement and dug a hole under it, so that the image fell or was thrown down and buried under the earth and rubbish.

Then doubt set in. As early as 1854, on adding remarks to Wilsen's article, Friederich inquires if the Buddha statue may not have been placed inside there post festum and in a note of later date he states, on information received afterwards, that when in 1842 the large stūpa was opened [2]) in the presence of the 'resident' and the commissioner for landrent and agriculture, Loudon, *no Buddha-image* was found inside but only a small 'Çivaïtic' figure and some small gold coins. Next Hoepermans in 1864 [3]), gets the same sort of information from some old natives who had helped at the digging, and relates it in rather melodramatic style. The quotation follows an indignant attack on what Buddingh had said about the unfinished image [4]):

"Did the Rev. Buddingh not know (for he pretended to know all and knew really nothing) that there were still old people in 1864 at Barabuḍur who had helped to dig out [5]) the temple, and that Sri Kantjing Padoeka Resident himself took away something from under the dome, and concealed it in a handkerchief held on his knee in the carriage. What was it, sir?

"They say it was a Buddha image of solid gold and to distract peoples' attention, Rhaden Adipatti of Magalang gave orders that the first

[1]) See above I p. 35.

[2]) This 'opening' must be the enlarging of the breach that had to be extended in order to examine the interior.

[3]) Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. 2 (1854) p. 3 sq.

[4]) In his Neêrlands Oost-Indiê I (1859) p. 180 sq.

[5]) Resident Hartmann also had the sand and rubbish cleared from the topgallery.

Buddha that was handy, there being hundreds of them lying about, should be put in its place inside the dome" [1]).

We can of course here reject the insinuation against the resident. But without that there is nothing improbable in the story. When an enthusiastic archeologist like Hartmann finds something in the stūpa which he thinks of importance, it is quite natural that he should fold it up in his handkerchief and take it away in his carriage. It is quite natural too that talk among the natives should develop this object of the high-placed official's special regard into a costly gold figure and so the incident is explained in a way comprehensible to the native community. The statement of the large statue being placed inside by order of the regent of Magĕlang is important specially in connection with the fact that Friederich as well, ten years before, relates there was originally no image there.

On what is Leemans story now founded? At any rate not on a clear, circumstantial, and unequivocal account of the discovery. There is far too much uncertainty in what is told about the small objects said to have been found at the same time. Collected together as sources, are [2]) Wilsen, whose first article dates from 1853, Brumund, who made his notes in 1855, and — the regent of Magĕlang. This last name, added to the story told by the old natives to Hoepermans, may have some significance. Did this native official really have a hand in the business? Not that we need for a moment believe the alleged motive of screening the resident from the public eye: it does not seem as if such an action would have been efficient. Neither need the story of the discovery as related by Leemans be incorrect. It would be inconsiderate on the other hand to reject the evidence of eyewitnesses who said that there was at first no statue, but that the regent caused one to be put there. How can these two accounts be reconciled? This will not be so very difficult if we betake ourselves into the region of supposition.

The two statements of 1840 shewed a supposition, that the chief-stūpa had been intended for an image.

Especially Van Hoëvell is important on this point for he was Hartmann's guest and his pupil among the antiquities. Is it not probable the resident himself shared this suspicion? It did not seem impossible something more might be discovered if the stūpa were to be thoroughly searched. The plan was arranged, the regent of course asked to supply the necessary workers, tools etc. What could be easier for the obliging native than to

[1]) Hindoe-Oudheden van Java, 1864—1867, published in Rapp. Oudh. Dienst 1913 p. 132.

[2]) On p. 97.

lay a plan for letting the Kandjeng find the thing he desired so much? It would not indeed be the first excavation where the lordly discoverer was rewarded with unusual success; fortune sometimes accepts a helping hand [1]). The great lord hoped to find an image, so there should be one. The regent then has one secretly placed there; only it must not be one of the ordinary images of which there were hundreds, but one of the unfinished ones of which there were only some few specimens. So the statue is buried under the débris, the resident comes to excavate and behold, one of the workmen strikes the head of the statue with his pick axe etc. So the information repeated by Leemans is in agreement with the facts, but the rumour may also be wellgrounded; the workmen who had assisted knew that the image had not always been there but was put in by the regent's orders.

By this I do not mean to say that the course of events was actually as above-described, but merely suggest the possibility of such a combination. The point must be made clear that the greatest uncertainty exists about the way in which this statue came into the stūpa. It was not found 'in situ' but lay among the fragments and rubbish in a space that had been accessible as early as 1814. Even if there is not a word of truth in the reports of Friederich and Hoepermans, then it is still possible that the statue does not belong there and was put in among the rubbish perhaps even before 1814. The story of the discovery was written at least ten years later and at the same time the suspicion arose that there was something wrong about it. I shall refer later to the small objects about which there is too some difference of opinion. All this fills us with distrust. The position of the hands being twice wrongly-described is also very strange. Friederich's and Hoepermans' information cannot be unconditionally rejected; at the same time can they be implicitly believed? In attempting a combination of the various data, I of course accepted only the main point of the rumour as credible, not the accessory story of the statue being introduced *after* the excavation. If this also were true, we might well wonder what reason there could be for dragging the image into the opened stūpa. The account given by Leemans would then be nothing but a made-up story, which it does not seem to be.

After all, our examination of the sources relating to the discovery of 1842, if we do not absolutely reject one of them, ends with the verdict "non liquet". Besides this, the fact that the stūpa was never known to us without the breach in its wall, deprives us of any *certainty* that the

[1]) For a similar „Byzantine-Javan" case in Singasari, see Rouffaer p. 72 of the monograph about that sanctuary (1909).

image was not put in from outside any time before our news in 1842. In this case I think the only thing left to us is to turn to the image itself and examine it thoroughly.

Nowadays it stands at the foot of the monument, placed on piled-up stones. When leaving the stūpa, filled with the majestic and beautiful impressions it leaves on the mind, we pause to examine this statue, the first effect it gives most of us, must surely be one of disappointment. We long to see something as exalted as the rest, a fitting culmination of their sublimity. It was to be placed in the highest and most sacred spot; and should be worthy of adoration as something divine. Instead of that, here sits a Buddha, in dimension the same as the hundreds of others, but in appearance far inferior to them. For if laying aside all secondary considerations, we forget that the statue has been removed from the chief-stūpa and become famous in Barabuḍur-literature, and then compare it with any of the Buddha images in the niches and domes, every unprejudiced observer must judge it to be inferior. I am convinced that only an observer who allows himself to be influenced by the real or supposed sanctity of this image, may fancy to feel some admiration.

It is useless to argue that it did not matter much what the image looked like, because no one would see it in the closed-up dome; for whatever was placed in such a holy of holies would have to be of the very best workmanship. That no Indian would attempt to fail in this duty towards the all-highest, is proved by the works of art that have been brought to light in the stūpa's of Hindustan, where they were just the same intended to be concealed for ever and ever [1]).

Nor can it be argued that the image was left unfinished intentionally, for some special reason; such a reason may have existed, but the statue being unfinished did not in the least imply that it would remain rough and ugly. On the contrary, the great height the art of this Barabuḍur monument attained, is a surety that it was quite possible to make an image with intentionally indistinct form into a masterpiece.

But it seems to me there are signs that the statue was not intentionally left unfinished, but on the contrary, was actually meant to be completed. An order for leaving the human form undefined would not account for the mass of stone below, in the middle under the legs, at the place where otherwise the folds of the monk's dress are arranged. This rough lump, thicker at one side than the other, has no sense as part of the design, but is quite comprehensible when it was to be left till the time came for it to be carved into folds. If this were an intentionally unfinished image,

[1]) Not always was such care bestowed on them; see Foucher A. G. B. II p. 542.

why should the hands be left one with the thumb carved separate and the other with thumb and fingers in one piece? If it was going to be finished, we see that the sculptor had got further on one side than the other. The same with the way in which the hair is left, just what might be expected if we knew the putting in of the curls was to follow; some of the Dhyāni-Buddha's whose curls are not quite finished-off, look just the same.

All this, added to the similarity in size between this image and the Dhyāni-Buddha's, makes it difficult for me to think this statue anything else than an unfinished Akṣobhya intended for the niches in the lowest row on the East side. There were several unfinished Buddha-figures found; the so-called "statue of the chief-stūpa" is by no means unique, a fact that also goes to prove it had no special character. Similar specimens were found in various places in the neighbourhood, at Gondangan (Muntilan), Mrangen (Salam), Ngaran (Salaman) [1]), and quite near to the Barabuḍur as well. This can easily be explained; it is known that the sanctuary was never entirely completed, as appears from some of the reliefs and for instance the lions; in the same way when the work stopped, some of the Dhyāni-Buddha's may have been left unfinished. It probably also happened that some of the figures had to be rejected, when half or nearly completed. This image has lost a piece of its right thumb, perhaps the injury was done when it got buried in the rubbish under the floor or when it was dragged out; but it may just as well have been an accident caused by a slip of the sculptor's hand, so that the work was refused a place and never finished off.

Judging by the statue itself, we are now coming to the conclusion that it seems unlikely the founders of the Barabuḍur would ever have placed this figure in the most sacred part of the sanctuary [2]). And seeing that the evidence as to its discovery is so unreliable, we need not try to reject this impression. If we consider the image as an unfinished Akṣobhya from the East side that was never intended to be set up in the chief-stūpa, then it is of little consequence whether it was put in there either before 1814 or by means of some shady transaction in 1842.

[1]) See Inventaris der Hindoe-oudheden I, Rapp. Oudh. Dienst 1914, p. 246 no. 803, p. 267 no. 862, p. 273 no. 886.

[2]) Brandes too seems to have shared this view. See Sewell (Antiquarian Notes in Java, Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc. 1906, p. 423): "There is a statue now in the chamber, but Dr. Brandes thought that it was one that had been removed from outside and placed within at a subsequent period". Sewell had visited Barabuḍur with Brandes and was probably relating a conversation with him.

It will be understood that I make no attempt to decide between the various theories regarding the meaning of the unfinished image of the chief-stūpa. All the same while leaving the question problematical, we should take proper notice of it.

It will not be of much use to relate all the different opinions that have been given about this statue; a good many have only historic value to shew what was thought about it at a certain time [1]). I shall restrict myself to the most important, that is to say to those, who if the image is finally proved to have belonged to the chamber in the chief stūpa, will be able to give some real explanation about it.

Let us begin with the idea of no less an authority on Buddhist matters than Kern, who without setting up an actual theory, explains the point as follows: "The large central stūpa contains an unfinished, it may be said an embryonic Buddha, just as the Great Mother, the divine Māyā, the Magna Dea carried the Bodhisattva in her womb" [2]). The idea is not further developed but the expression "embryonic" and comparison to the Bodhisattva, makes us think that according to this scholar's view, the statue is meant to indicate the future, a sort of promise that even when this universe shall pass away, a new Buddha will reveal himself so that the continuance of the Creed of Salvation is assured [3]). In this way the statue has no actual connection with the preceding Buddha's on the terraces.

The existence of such a connection is a recommendation of Groeneveldt's theory, also a merely-suggested one, in his introduction to the Buddhist statues in the Batavia Museum [4]). Taking his argument from the Buddhism of Nepal, from which source we draw our knowledge of the Dhyāni-Buddha's, he states that there the origin of all existence is Ādi-Buddha. There is a representation of this being to be found in Bhagvānlāl [5]), standing on a lotus in the shape of a man of very undeveloped form. "If this is not accidental", Groeneveldt continues, "then it has a remarkable resemblance to the statue in the central dagoba of Barabuḍur that is also undeveloped, in such a way that the limbs are indicated but not worked out, a subtle manner of shewing the abstract existence of this deity. In my opinion there is no doubt that this statue represents

[1]) Among such I reckon Leemans' attempt (p. 461—471) to combine several opinions, founded partly on imagination.

[2]) Geschiedenis van het Buddhisme in Indië II (1884) p. 179.

[3]) Compare Wilsen in Leemans p. 459.

[4]) Catalogus der Archeologische Verzameling (1887) p. 75.

[5]) On pl. XXII, 1 of the above quoted work.

Ādi-buddha; when we observe how the bas-reliefs on the walls of the galleries in this monument, shew us consecutively scenes of the world (the earthly life of Çākya) and the various heavens (loka's), ascending in a spiritual sense always higher, how along the sides and around the top of the sanctuary, the 5 Dhyāni-Buddha's are seated in their fixed places in the system, nothing could be placed above them but the Ādi-buddha."

Setting aside the representation in Bhagvānlāl, which does not at all resemble a Buddha [1]), while its incompleteness seems to me more in the drawing than the conception of the figure, this theory is quite attractive. The spiritual ascension is undoubtedly there and can hardly culminate in anything lower than a supreme being such as Ādi-buddha. It is of course in favour of this view that it comes from Nepal, where the system of Dhyāni-Buddha's revealed such striking resemblance with that of Java. It will not matter much that there is no trace of the term Ādi-Buddha being known in Java — the Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan speaks only of an āmbĕk ādibuddha, i. e. an ādibuddha spirit, with the name of mahāmunivaracintāmaṇisamādhi [2]) — for this exalted being may naturally have been called by another name; Vajradhara for instance as we have seen was known in Java and elsewhere is often identified with Ādi-buddha; as "Lord of Mysteries", Guhyapati [4]), he is of course withdrawn from sight.

All this does not of course prove Groeneveldt's theory to be correct; in consequence of the invisibility of what was hidden in the temple chamber of the chief-stūpa, we might ask whether the "ascension" did actually reach that far; besides we know too little of the views held by the Javanese Mahāyānists to be able to decide if they acknowledged a supreme Buddha, an Ādi-Buddha *in this form*. But I see no reason for considering Groeneveldt's view incorrect, allowing of course that the unfinished Buddha was really set up in the chief-stūpa.

Foucher's ingenious explanation of the unfinished statue is of quite another sort [5]). Setting aside all apocalyptic explanation, he sets out to inquire if the Buddhist iconography in India, which we know was the recognised model of the Javanese, may possess a Buddha-type with

[1]) An Ādi-Buddha as Vajradhara, with vajra and bell (the usual representation of Vajrasattva) is found in Tibetan art; for inst. Mem. Asiat. Soc. Beng. I, 1 (1905) p. 21.

[2]) Fol. 50a, p. 57 and 105.

[3]) See for instance Pander, Zeitschr. f. Ethn. 1889 p. 61, Pantheon p. 59, Waddell, Lamaism p. 130 sq. and the article quoted in note 1.

[4]) Grünwedel, Mythologie p. 98.

[5]) Le Buddha inachevé de Bôrô-Budur, Bull. Ec. fr. d'Extr. Or. 3 (1903) p. 78—80.

the same position of the hands and the same peculiarity of being unfinished. This question is easily answered: there is actually such a type and the Buddha we look for is no other than the famous statue of Çākyamuni on the vajrāsana of Mahābodhi, the one made with divine help, the authentic image of the Master, near the spot where he attained the Buddha-ship. It is certain that this statue represented the Buddha at the moment when he called on the earth as witness, therefore in bhūmisparça-mudrā. Different versions of the making of the image are given by Tāranātha and Hiuen Tsiang [1]), but they agree in saying that it was left unfinished because the divine sculptors were prematurely interrupted in their work; according to one, the toes of the right foot, the hair and the garment were not finished, according to the other it was the part above the right breast. Foucher himself has elsewehere [2]) given a brilliant explanation of these legends, shewing how the parts left unfinished, to be completed later on, are just the characteristic points of difference between a Buddha-type of the Gandhāra school and one of the Hindu-Bengalese of the 5th century, so that may be, the story indicates, how an original Gandhāra image was conformed to the taste and requirements of later times.

For the Barabuḍur however it is of no importance if the statue was in *reality* incomplete, the main point being that it was generally *considered* to be unfinished. It must have been extremely difficult to decide this point, for according to Hiuen Tsiang's description, it stood in a dark chamber and was only to be seen properly with the help of a mirror that reflected the sun's rays on to it. The statue at Barabuḍur would be a facsimile of this said-to-be unfinished statue of Mahābodhi in the bhūmisparça-mudrā. This seems the more probable because Mahābodhi from the 7th to the 11th century was the greatest centre of pilgrimage in India; the statue was the most famous that existed and therefore its copies the most frequently chosen for export, for instance to China [3]). It then becomes quite comprehensible how a more or less faithful copy of this statue could be thought holy enough to be enshrined by the Javanese architects in the sacred chamber of their great stūpa.

This is Foucher's theory. At first sight it shews a great deal of prob-

[1]) Tāranātha, trans. Schiefner (1869) p. 20—22 (= 16 sq.); Hiuen Tsiang, trans. Beal, Si-yu-ki I (1884) p. 120—122. Comp. above p. 73.

[2]) Revue de l'histoire des religions 30 (1892) p. 344—348.

[3]) The article here-quoted, by Chavannes, Les inscriptions chinoises de Bodh-Gayā, Revue de l'histoire des religions 34 (1896) p. 1—58, shews plainly how famous the Mahābodhi-temple with its statue was, but only gives one instance (on. p. 56) of a replica of this statue being taken over to China.

ability enhanced by its fine and persuasive style of argument. But one or two objections must be brought against it. The argument would be stronger if there was any possibility that the Barabuḍur statue was made at Mahābodhi and brought over to Java as an object of great sanctity. But that is out of the question; the statue is made of the same stone as the others and must have been carved on the spot.

How then can it have been such a sacred copy? What other reason can have existed for concealing it in the stūpa if it did not possess the sanctity of a relic transported from the motherland, while on the other hand the supposed original at Mahābodhi was accessible to everyone? My principal objection however is the following. After the story of the statue of the vajrāsana being left unfinished, we are told in actual words that it was completed later on. Therefore it was looked upon by those who saw it in the 7th century etc. not as still unfinished, but as an image that had not been entirely completed by its original divine sculptors and received the finishing touches from human hands, but was for that reason certainly at that time a finished statue.

It is too a fact that all copies known to us of the Mahābodhi-image are quite finished off and without any trace of incompleteness. How then can we account for the copy in Java being the only one with this peculiarity, and that so strongly-marked?

If therefore the unfinished statue was really set up as chief image in the central-stūpa, it is in any case very far from certain how it is to be explained. Should it not belong there then we are besieged by all sorts of surmises as to what *could* have been there. If we judge by the state of other stūpa's, such as those examined in India, then our conclusion would be this: probably there was nothing placed there but a relic-casket, possibly containing some coins or perhaps a small inscription. I have already discussed these relics in Chapt I where it appears that no actual relics were found at Barabuḍur [1]). It only remains to be told what else was discovered in and near the chief-stūpa. First of all there is the fragment of a stone image that was, it is true, found on the temple ground, thus outside the monument and about 6 Meters from the East staircase, but it was lying among all sorts of stones belonging to the first clearing out by Cornelius. In mentioning the discovery, Van Erp [2]) thought it not unlikely this fragment was carried down from the temple with these stones. It is the lower part of a figure seated on a lotus-

[1]) See I page 9 sq.

[2]) In the (unpublished) report of the work at Barabuḍur in the third quarter of 1908.

cushion; only the legs, crossed Indian-fashion, a hand, the left one, laid on the lap and hiding an object that Van Erp takes for a gem but is not distinct in the photograph; the lotuscushion is a double one of the usual form on an oblong pedestal. The stone, very much worn-away, is not the ordinary kind but an inferior porous quality. If this fragment belongs to Barabuḍur of course we cannot say; if so, then the only possible place for this small-size statue whose pedestal is only 84 c.M. long, would be the small chamber above in the chief-stūpa [1]), the floor of which is 120 c.M. in length and breadth; therefore the small statue according to its presumable height, would not be out of place. There is no place for figures of this small size elsewhere. The great question of course is if the fragment really originally belonged to the monument and on this point we are absolutely without data. In this case we can do nothing more than announce the discovery and acknowledge the possibility of Van Erp's supposition [2]), which remains no more than a possibility.

Under the floor of the large chamber in the chief-stūpa, it is proved there were small objects found in 1842, but they were in a place that had already been turned-over, a hole filled up with fragments of masonry.

We mentioned already [3]) that Wilsen speaks of "metal objects" without further specification, and that Friederich mentions a small Çivaïtic figure and several small gold coins, later on he speaks vaguely of "gold objects" [4]). Brumund [5]) was told that a small metal "Buddha-image" was found and a vase-shaped box with a lid in which were some small silver coins of unimportant impress, concave on one side, convex on the other; the regent of Magĕlang could only remember a gold coin. The silver coins by their description, must have been the socalled mā-coins which would be nothing strange. The "Çivaïtic" and the "Buddha"-image may quite well mean the same specimen; every old image in Java is called a 'Buddha' by the gossips of the community and on the other hand, in Friederich's day, all figures with extra arms etc. are ascribed to Çivaism. The little image in question is very likely to have been a many-armed figure, the Buddhist character of which was not understood by Friederich's informant. In connection with this it is important that according to a

[1]) For this chamber see architectural part of this monograph.

[2]) He calls attention to the fact of the fragment being found on the East side and the breach in the central stūpa being on the same side, also that during the first excavation everything found on the East front of the temple was carried down the East stairways.

[3]) Pag. 161.

[4]) Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. 19 (1870) p. 416.

[5]) See p. 99 of Leemans' monograph.

report [1]) concerning three objects found in the same place, a four-armed figure is mentioned. These objects were presented by Mr. Heyligers, late secretary in Kĕdu, to the Leyden Museum with the information that he had received them himself from the regent of Magĕlang who said they had been dug up "in the hole at the temple of Barabuḍur" in 1843. One of these objects is a large round bronze dish with an upstanding edge turned outwards, 48 c.M. in diameter and ornemented on the bottom with a leaf-shaped design round a wide vase, it has a serrated border and is in fact a tray [2]); the other an iron "kris-Madjapahit", handle and straight blade in one piece, 28.3 c.M. long, rather streaked, the handle being a roughly-shaped figure of a man standing, very stiff in design, eyes and nose given only with a line [3]). Leemans has already noticed that such daggers are not worn by the figures on the relief-scenes of the monument and therefore this weapon will not have been found on the spot mentioned or later got mixed up with the rubbish. The figure is described [4]) as wearing an Amitābha image in its high Çivaïtic headdress; this, combined with the four-armed shape makes it plain that it is an Avalokiteçvara. This figure probably had a halo, it is 15.4 c.M. high, the front pair of hands are described as holding, right, the handle of some object that is broken-off, left, the stalk of a lotusflower, while the emblems in the second pair of hands are not to be recognised. The lower part of the body is clothed in a wide under-dress hanging down to the feet and tied round with a sash; it has the upavīta as well. Although the date of its discovery 1843 is not that of Hartmann's examination, it is not improbable that this Avalokiteçvara is the Buddha-image of Brumund and the Çivaïtic one Friederich speaks of. In that case all the evidence agrees that it actually came out of the chief-stūpa and was found in the rubbish below the original floor.

Finally I must mention a discovery in one of the bell-shaped stūpa's on the terraces, that was reported to the Batavia Society in 1909 [5]). In stūpa no. 7 on the top terrace there was found a small Buddha-image and two Chinese coins, while three similar coins were discovered inside some of the other stūpa's. The little figure is 12.4 c.M. high, standing with its right hand in abhaya-mudrā. The lefthand is broken off and a small rod, fastened into the back, has probably supported the halo.

[1]) Leemans p. 98—100.
[2]) Juynboll, Catalogue p. 213 no. 1842.
[3]) Catalogue p. 198 no. 1843.
[4]) Catalogue p. 96 no. 1841.
[5]) Notulen Bat. Gen. 1909 p. 140 sq.

On the bottom it can be seen that it has been fixed on a pedestal. As regards proportion and finish it is of inferior make; below the knee it has been broken and put together again. It is now in the Museum at Batavia[1]). The oldest of the five coins[2]) belonged to the T'ang-dynasty (beginning 618 A.D.), the most recent to the Yang Loh period (AD. 1403—1425). The three others also date from the period when Barabuḍur was already deserted (Hi-Neng, 1068—1078; Kien Tsung 1101—1102; Ching Hwo, 1111—1118), by which we see that no evidence as to the monument can be drawn from the image. At any rate, it does not belong to the classical Middle-Javanese art. Besides it was found in a stūpa that was almost entirely a ruin, and had been ransacked by treasure-seekers like so many others. There is evidence enough of their sacrilegious deeds, nor did they hesitate to break off a dome, drag the image out of its place and dig a hole sometimes several feet deep.

However with some of these domes that had remained intact, Van Erp was able to prove that they contained nothing. The bell-shaped stūpa's had therefore no other significance than that of being details in the monumental design, and were not used for preserving treasure or ashes of the dead or perhaps both. Small monuments erected for this purpose are not missing at Barabuḍur and were found at the foot of the hill[3]); here in the pure air of the high terraces, round the most sacred precincts of the stūpa, was no place for the treasures or the remains of earthly beings.

[1]) Notulen l.l.p. CVI no. 596*s*, Inv. 5000.

[2]) The identification was made by Mr. Moquette, keeper of the Numismatic Collection at Batavia, Not. l.l. p. 141.

[3]) See I p. 11.

CHAPTER XI

BARABUḌUR AS A MONUMENT OF HINDU-JAVANESE ART AND CULTURE

After describing in regular sequence what the Barabuḍur has to shew us in its galleries, in its niches and on its terraces, let us now contemplate it as a whole and try to form some idea of what this monument signifies as a creation of the Hindu-Javanese community, especially as a work of art. Later on we shall consider what it has to teach us as an expression of religious faith.

The architectural conception of the building, the masterly manner in which the designer of this sanctuary has embodied the idea of the stūpa and retained its type, succeeding nevertheless in giving it new and wonderful characteristics while leaving scope for the system of his religious creed to rise to such full and sublime expression; all this belongs to the architectural part of this monograph and need not be introduced here. Everything more directly concerning the decoration must also be treated of as belonging to the architecture and will be found in the other volume. Here, we need only deal with its plastic forms.

In examining these, I must refer to my remarks here above about the way in which the artists worked when covering the galleries and balustrades with series after series of reliefs. Let me first recall what I said in the introduction to the reliefs that are filled up with jātaka's and avadāna's [1]), especially in reference to Foucher's opinions; remarks there used to explain how the identification of the edifying tales illustrated by the reliefs, is hindered by the idiosyncrasies of the sculptors' way of working. To begin with, the enormous extent of the space available for reliefs made it utterly impossible to depict only the striking or picturesque episodes of their stories; the events that the pilgrims would understand at once and from which they could see directly which

[1]) Vol. I p. 235 and *foll.*

of the sacred tales they knew so well was set before their eyes. Pictures of this kind, the few there are, form but a very small part of the great mass of meaningless scenes, receptions, audiences, conversations and the like, which is quite comprehensible, because the space had to be filled; therefore every bit of the tale that would form a scene was made use of, whether it assisted the course of the story or not. "The few there are" I repeat, for it is remarkable that really striking scenes appear far less often than might be expected; and in cases where the text followed is known to us and we can keep watch on the sculptors, it often strikes us that far from representing the meaningless scenes only when obliged, they evidently prefer them and spin them out as much as possible on purpose; while on the other hand they pass over the chance of depicting some dramatic incident that seizes the attention. As regards technical skill, it is very unlikely that this can be ascribed to their inability to represent dramatic scenes. Not only other monuments (for inst. the Rāmāyaṇa reliefs[1]) of Prambanan) shew plainly enough how skillful the Hindu-Javanese artists could be in depicting striking episodes, but on Barabuḍur itself we can find examples to prove this, for instance on the buried base. There must be some other reason and that we must look for in their intention to preserve the solemn character of the sanctuary. The believer who literally and figuratively was led upwards, must not be interrupted in his pious contemplation by the sight of scenes that could in any way excite the senses. That was of course essential; to attain the highest state of bliss, in whatever form it might be conceived, as Nirvāṇa, as future Buddha-hood, or as being absorbed into the Spirit of the Universe, the first condition in every kind of Buddhism, was the subjugation of the senses; therefore the great sanctuary, that in a way was to demonstrate the tenets of the Creed of Salvation, must also coöperate in all details of its structure to achieve that aim. Thus it became necessary to avoid everything that might rouse thoughts of unholy deeds of violence, and so we get no sight of Kṣāntivādin's mutilation or the murder of Ruḍrāyaṇa, however important these events were to the story in which they happened. For the same reason also there is no trace whatever to be found of anything indecent, not even where it obviously belongs, as in the well-known scene of Çākyamuni awaking in the women's apartment on the night before the Great Departure. In arranging the manner in which the various texts were to be depicted, it was evidently carefully decided

[1]) This series is specially treated of by Dr. W. F. Stutterheim, Rāmalegenden und Rāmareliefs in Indonesien (1924).

what should be brought into the picture and what should be rejected as unfit for representation.

If this principle was followed — and that such was the case is plainly shewn by the omission of episodes so important as those mentioned above, an omission that surely cannot be ascribed only to the fancy of the sculptor, but to some deliberate intention — then we can understand how the veto was extended to what seems to us an exaggeration of censure, so that not only exciting or unedifying scenes were deleted but much that might have been quite decorously entertaining. The result is a superfluity of very dull episodes, the space that had to be filled was immense, all the too-exciting incidents had to be left out, and this quite accounts for the innumerable scenes of the same kind of receptions and monotonous conversations. We must not reproach the designers of the relief-decoration for this; their chief aim was not to illustrate some or other text as clearly and dramatically as possible, but to lead the pious beholder into the contemplative and serene state of mind that was the condition required for preparing him to receive the Creed of Salvation. The clear course of the story might be, actually must be, sacrificed to the claims of religion.

This in no way disagrees with the fact that one of the relief-series does not conform to this principle. We remember that they did not hesitate to depict some rather sensational episodes on the buried base of the temple, as well as the elaborate execution of the torments of hell and the crimes which lead to its punishments; we there saw a graveyard with skeletons and bones, attacks with a drawn sword, victims with a rope round their neck and such like horrors. Here indeed the intention was quite different. This series on the outside of the real sanctuary illustrates the misery of life's circle in all its good and evil deeds, rewards and punishments; therefore to impress the beholder's mind effectively with the hopeless and disgusting repetition of existence, the representations of all its horrors could not be overlooked as a drastic means of preparing his mind for the influence of higher thought. But when the beholder had completed the circuit of the base, had received the desired impression and was ready to mount the steps to the galleries, filled with disgust for earthly life and longing for salvation from it, there was no more need for such emotional scenes, nothing was wanted but the peaceful sense of calmness and meditation suitable for those who seek the way of salvation. Therefore on the galleries themselves, even when the course of the story makes it unavoidable, any representation for instance of fighting or hell is merely

indicated, just enough to make it plain, without going into details, that either a hell or a fight is intended. It is also remarkable how in the reliefs round the base where details are intentionally not neglected, the Buddhist spirit is still active and restrains the realism even of the most horrid and bloody scenes, preventing the sculptors from giving any more than the exact amount of influence needed to produce the moral effect required. This singularity is the more noticeable because elsewhere the artists enjoy adding slight details to the outlines given by the text, so as to enliven the scene and make it more natural.

This peculiarity in the design of the separate reliefs is also due to their oblong shape, in some series the length being three times that of the height or even more. The result is that in many cases the chief incident was obliged to be added to, so as to complete the artistic balance of the design [1]). That accounts to begin with for the large groups of followers, necessary in the case of royal or very eminent persons, but also put in on all sorts of occasions where they were not obliged to appear. Their presence is not of the least importance to the story; they are only used to enhance the beauty of the scene. In the same way the mise-en-scène is often more elaborate than is necessary or even advisible for the understanding of it; a woodland or mountain scene for instance, in which there are only a few actors, is often crowded up with rocks and trees enlivened with various animals, actually filled in with detail to such an extent that it is sometimes difficult to make out whether it is an animal story with a slight human interest, or a drama of human life with an episode that takes place in a wooded landscape.

This characteristic appears everywhere, in the private apartment or the hall of audience, on land or water, it always seems as if the accessories predominate; they often come so much to the front and encroach on the real action of the scene that they cannot be regarded any more as details.

So as already remarked, the sculptors were more or less condemned to this manner of work by the great space that had to be filled in on each relief. Yet this does not explain everything. They have actually done more than fill up the available space, and given more than if their only aim was to use up the so-many inches of surface that remained after the chief persons had been finished off, by putting in suitable surroundings.

Even looked at from this point of view, they have still executed an

[1]) With regard to the rythmic composition of the Barabuḍur-reliefs see With, Java (1920) p. 56—66.

enormous amount of unnecessary work, quite superfluous even if they were naturally inclined to dislike a vacuum, which, judging by the many unworked spaces and other things, was not the case. The open places here and there, could have been filled up with a reception-pavilion, wooded landscape and suchlike; but it was not necessary to put jars and boxes under the seats of the pavilion, or when a tree was placed as decoration in the landscape, to add birds among the branches. It is plain that besides the need for filling in the large spaces left open in panels of too great a size, these artists evidently loved to spin out and elaborate the details of their scenes. We can see this even where neither the space left over nor the episode being handled, requires it, how eagerly they seize on any chance of putting in clever touches; a separate little scene added to the chief incident, the graceful arrangement of secondary figures, a suggestive bit of still-life, all executed with artistic care. It is such a typical feature of this art that we may well wonder if the wide shape of the panels intended for reliefs may not be as much the origin as the result of the peculiar design of the scenes. Maybe the shape of these panels was purposely planned of such length to shew off the sculptors' skill at this kind of thing. The fact of course remains that the size of the reliefs depended first of all on the dimension of the galleries and the plan of the whole stūpa, but that would not prevent the division of the space into panels of a different shape; while on the other hand we can easily imagine that the designers of the monument might want to give scope to what was quite evidently a special talent and hobby with the artists who were to carry out the work.

Even when the shape of the reliefs had been fixed by the design of the monument, there was still a way of filling them up without overloading them with details. In accordance with a traditional custom of Indian art, more than one episode could have been put on the same relief. It is quite comprehensible that this was only occasionally done: the tales are often so long-drawn out that there is plainly more inclination to spread one episode over several reliefs than to condense the material, by which some panels would have been crowded up with a whole story and most likely not leave anything for the remaining ones. Not that Hindu-Javanese art altogether rejected whole-story reliefs; for instance at Mĕndut, Barabuḍur's contemporary, we find the well-known story of the tortoise and the geese so depicted that on the same relief we see the tortoise being carried through the air on a pole and just below, on the ground, being killed by his captors. But examples of such

composition are not common; from this we might perhaps conclude that the evolution of Hindu-Javanese art from that of the continent took place at a period when the latter had already, though perhaps not quite entirely, discarded the old-fashioned style. In Java we no longer find the peculiarity of the one figure acting two parts on the same panel and having to be reckoned as belonging to both episodes; sometimes two or more episodes are put on one relief, but they can always be distinguished from one another and no figures are common to both. At Mĕndut we find two episodes one above the other, at Barabuḍur they are always placed side by side, which is obviously due to the shape of the reliefs. Besides, as noticed, the cases are rare on this temple and then the episodes are so carefully separated from each other in all parts and details that no impression of combination is left and they stand next to each other quite separate scenes, that require only the frame of ornement that separates other reliefs, to make them distinct pictures.

Another peculiarity of the figures on the reliefs has been mentioned already in chapt. IV as one of the factors that increase the difficulty of identifying the reliefs; i.e. the want of individuality in the actors. The sculptors make use only of representation types, they distinctly portray, with fixed attributes, a king, a brahman, a monk or a hermit but all distinction between individuals of the same type is wanting, and it is saying a good deal if they sometimes express an emotion in their attitude or gesture. The number of types is always more or less restricted and often have to serve for several kinds of people; thus a god has the same appearance as a king; he usually has a halo behind his head, but when the king who figures as the hero of some sacred tale is a Bodhisattva as well, he can also wear this distinction. This gives every chance for mistakes, but even when the actual types are kept distinct, there is the difficulty that if two kings or monks etc. appear in the story, not the least attempt is made to distinguish one individual from another. We might think that if it was not possible to make individual persons of them, the sculptor might have managed, even with the similarity of royal costume, to distinghuish them bij giving some detail of dress to one of the kings and leaving the other without it. But this has not been done anywhere. The sculptors do make some variation in the style of figures belonging to the same type, so that we get the king sometimes with a wide and sometimes with a narrow band across the breast and the shape of the tiara or details in the ornements of the dress often vary a good deal, but there is never the least attempt made in the same tale, to introduce one special characteristic into the dress

of any one individual of the general type. This very simple means of distinction, as useful to the pious worshipper of olden times who contemplated these stories, as for archaeologists of the present day is absolutely ignored. The sculptors in depicting their figures have done literally nothing more than represent the type required; within that type they put in as much variety as they wanted by varying the details, but beyond that they never tried to distinguish one person from another either in features or stature, not even by the slightest touch of difference in dress or anything of that sort. We might think these sculptors were incapable of putting any personal trait into a figure. But the splendid portraits of the Hindu-Javanese kings in the form of gods proves the contrary, or if another instance is wanted besides that of East Java, there is the striking head of a monk at Tjaṇḍi Sewu [1]) in Middle Java. It may be true that it is quite another thing for a clever artist to make a likeness of an individual head, than when single persons must be characterized in an endless series of reliefs, but it must be acknowledged that the Hindu-Javanese *if they wanted* were quite able to make a portrait. That they have done nothing of the kind here makes us suppose they considered it quite unnecessary to distinguish clearly their persons, not even by the obvious and technically quite easy means of varying some detail in their dress.

Still more strange it is that where the same persons or things appear in the same tale, there is no trace whatever of consistency.

In explaining the reliefs we found remarkable instances of this, almost incredible to Western ideas. The most evident were of course those for which we possess the text followed and could therefore be quite sure what episode was represented. Repeatedly, in fact as a rule, we found the same person on two consecutive reliefs looking quite different, that is to say the type was preserved, the king was always a king, the hermit a hermit etc., but the details were totally dissimilar; the tiara for instance though still high as ceremonial dress required, was more pointed or broader or differently adorned, the scarf across the breast was left out, ornements looked different and so on. In short, the figures were often not a bit like each other, only that they were both kings; and this occurred in cases where the text plainly shewed that it was exactly the same person; sometimes the episodes followed so closely as to leave no time for him to have changed his costume in between. There is an instance of a man who managed to grow a beard during the course of a

[1]) Comp. description on photo of this head in Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. 54 (1912) p. 129—134.

conversation! It is not only secondary personages who were treated in this manner, but the chief actors as well whom we expect first of all to see properly attended to; they are always executed with care and devotion, not the least trifle in the details was slurred over, only there is not the least sign of any attempt to make the figure look like the same person on the preceding relief. This is most noticeable with the royal personages who give the most opportunity for variation in dress and accessories, but we can find it in all the types; a hermit for instance is given a wider or narrower headband, larger or smaller loops in the hair and even with the monk, whose shaven head and garment was prescribed by canonical rule, the artists were able to put in touches of variety, as we can see by the Lalitavistara reliefs. Everywhere in their work we can notice how eager the sculptors were to vary and elaborate the details, while they never troubled to preserve any individuality in their figures.

With the figures of less importance to the course of the story they took still more licence and it is quite common to find some personage attended by a suite of particular sort and number on one relief, who in the very next scene appear quite different in appearance and are more or fewer in number. The mise-en-scène is treated in the same way. A conversation begins in a pavilion, but when the next scene depicts a later phase of the same discourse, the building has disappeared. The landscape in a tale changes its aspect in the same way. All this sort of thing might be ascribed to indifference or carelessness on the sculptors' part but it gets worse when the surroundings have some special significance for the incidents in the story or if some object in the scene calls for particular attention because of what the text says about it. To give an example: a separate scene is given to the incident where Sāgara's daughter offers a seat to Çākyamuni; this seat is of course important to the story, therefore it looks very queer when the next scene shews us the future Buddha sitting on quite another kind of seat. The most flagrant example is surely the throne of Bodhimaṇḍa and the Bodhi-tree that spreads its branches above it, the most sacred spot where Çākyamuni attained the Buddha-ship; not even this has escaped their careless manner of execution, at least according to our way of thinking. In the scenes that follow, shewing the consecutive phases of the Saṃbodhi with all fulness of detail, the sculptors have not hesitated to alter both tree and seat just as they pleased. Even the personality of the Master is not duly preserved nor that of the Bodhisattva's who are the chief figures on the upper galleries; at the first glance we notice the

variation in the shape of the uṣṇīṣa and on closer examination there are more slight deviations, for instance as to the proportion, between one figure of Çākyamuni and the other as he developes into a Buddha.

It is not enough to dismiss the subject by ascribing all this to carelessness. There is too much consistency in this "carelessness", and we might reasonably expect that such a highly important episode as the attainment of the Highest Wisdom by the historic Buddha would have been executed with the care that the subject demands. Instead of that, the defect is so common that it begins to look like an intentional feature. We begin to inquire if these variations, incomprehensible to us, might not be put in on purpose and the artists have made a point of not allowing these same persons and things to look the same in the same circumstances. If that is so, then we must certainly seek some other motive than the desire to introduce variety at any cost into a series of scenes which were likely to become monotonous and inartistic. The artistic value of a religious monument like Barabuḍur can not have been the principal aim its founders had in view, and if in the many series of reliefs, as we noticed, they sacrificed the clearness of the story to the religious elements in the scene, it would be futile to imagine that only for the sake of improving their work by adding variety, they should have executed the most sacred episodes so carelessly. On the contrary, if we accept the variations as being intentional, their reason must have been to create a religious state of mind or emotion and in agreement with what we shall find out in chapt XIII about the creed this temple embodies, it becomes clear that the impression the beholder is intended to receive, may have been the instability of all earthly things. Whatever the eye looked upon, it was only appearance, the beholder thinks what he sees is real, but it is not so, for here there is no reality; and so the form in which being is embodied is of little worth. The appearance of these chief persons, even that Çākyamuni should be as he is here represented, does not matter very much, because he may just as well look like the figure on the next relief; form has no meaning, it is only a makeshift to bring home to the believer the eternal truths that are offered to him; it is an ineffective expedient and its unreliability must be kept before the eyes of the worshipper. Looked at in this way the variation in form of the "same" person or thing, takes on a deeper meaning and becomes at last no less than a symbol of the Çūnyatāvāda!

But there is another explanation of which I have already suggested the possibility, at various places, when the characteristic just discussed shewed itself in a very remarkable manner. What I mean is that after

all it may be nothing but the natural result of the peculiar way in which the Barabudur sculptors carried out their work. It stands to reason that the sculptors were not just set down in front of the smooth blocks of stone text in hand, and then left to do as they liked, to choose their own subject, the number of panels required for it, and their own way of depicting it. Quite the contrary, there must have been a plan for the long rows, by which the material was divided among the number of available reliefs; otherwise it is inconceivable that for instance, the Lalitavistara could have been exactly fitted into the 120 panels, allotted to it. We must therefore suppose that there was a fixed plan according to which certain episodes were apportioned to certain reliefs. Next came the execution; the enormous number of reliefs and the painstaking manner in which they have been executed, piece by piece, makes it probable that no small number of sculptors were employed. Without debating whether the work was carried on in several galleries at the same time or if they were executed one by one, there is so much skill and labour lavished on each separate series, that it naturally appears to be the work of several craftsmen. It is a matter of course that they could not all work together on one relief, but must each have had his appointed place to begin [1]). There could be no objection to that; according to the existing plan, they received instructions everytime what episode to portray, and most probably, to avoid mistakes, a word or two was cut in the stone at the top of the panels to indicate what the subject of the relief was to be; this inscription was intended to be obliterated when the scene was finished and it had served its purpose. Such was the obvious explanation of the short inscriptions found above a number of the reliefs round the buried base of the monument [2]). In this way they could make sure that the subject of each panel and the connection of the various sculptors' work, would fit in correctly. It was quite another thing with the details. It is hardly credible that the sculptors received such precise instructions for each relief, that every possible trifle of dress or surroundings was prescribed.

So there was the possibility, almost the certainty, that each artist

[1]) It would not be impossible I believe judging by some details in the craftsmanship of the reliefs, to point out the places where each new sculptor took up the work. The photos are not sufficient to prove this; at the monument itself I think I have succeeded in recognising the portions in which the rows of reliefs were divided. All in regular sections (on the chief walls) of from four to six reliefs; also it can be seen on the chief wall of the first gallery that the portions in the top and bottom row have been executed by the same hand.

[2]) See I p. 55.

would treat these details in a different way to the others. The sculptors could of course be made familiar with the stories and it was possible to give an exact description of each relief, but it could never be made so accurate as to leave no point open to variation. The founders must have been quite as well aware of that as we are. Complete unity of conception among all those at work on such rows of more than a hundred scenes, was practically unattainable. The designers of the relief-decoration must have restricted themselves to describing the chief episode, relying on the general knowledge of the traditional types for the accuracy of the scene as a whole.

They would thus give directions that on such a relief, a conversation between a king and a hermit was to be depicted, and then say what kind of a retinue or a building there must be, or the apartment or the landscape in which the interview must take place; but whether the king's tiara was to be high or wide, or the hermits coiffure must be done up in large or smaller loops and that kind of thing was left to the taste and fancy of the sculptor. That such was their manner of work and the artists of the separate reliefs were only bound by instructions for a few chief points and left almost entirely free as regard the details, I have repeatedly been able to demonstrate in describing the reliefs. If this was the way of working, the variation in the details of the same persons and things, is quite accounted for. As a natural consequence the panels given to one sculptor could keep the same character in the details; but it would have been far more deceptive if these for the time recognisable figures, were suddenly to change their aspect where sculptor A's work joined on to that of B. It would be better to do away with consistency altogether even in the scenes that were executed by the same A or B. In this way it became practically impossible to find any uniformity in the accessories and so that would lead to the decision for a more or less systematic variation, while the dogma of the unreality of all forms of appearance will have helped to reconcile the community to the confusion and unaccountable variations that seem so strange to us. Of course we can have no idea how this all came about and how they thought about it, the above argument is no more than conjecture; but judging by the reliefs themselves, we can be pretty sure that whatever their reason was, the designers controlled no more than the general outlines of the chain of episodes and left the sculptors to carry out the details in their own way.

I have already mentioned that as a matter of course the subject would be selected beforehand and its material apportioned to the reliefs; with

the long series of reliefs we must certainly consider that instruction for the subject of the scene was given on each successive relief.

Only in those cases where a great number of small separate tales had to be arranged on a relief-series consisting of many small panels, there seems to have been another plan followed. Separate tales, that is only in the sense of each being a story in itself, for as we had every opportunity of noticing, they were already collected together in one or more texts before they came to be illustrated on Barabuḍur; in the series of jātaka's and avadāna's to which I refer, the artists were only following an existing collection, they did not make a new anthology. We are quite ignorant of how these collections were put together, therefore we are not able to follow the way in which they are divided over the available space; there may have been a few very large or several smaller ones. In the case of large panels such as there are on the chief wall of the first gallery, bottom row, the same as the Lalitavistara ones above, we can make sure that the subject for each scene was carefully fixed before the sculptors set to work; here the stories often take up many reliefs, sometimes twenty or more. It was different on the balustrades, especially the top row of the first gallery where a large number of stories were put on to a few reliefs in such a way that about one hundred jātaka's were fitted into 372 panels, larger and smaller ones. There is a noticeable inequality in the treatment of these tales, some are squeezed into one relief, though the story as we know it, could easily have furnished subjects for several other scenes; others on the contrary are unreasonably spun out without in the least improving it. This is also in my opinion to be accounted for by the sculptors' manner of working. Here the subjects of all the 372 reliefs have not been arranged beforehand scene by scene, but after deciding which text was to be depicted in that series, the subject as well as the space was divided into equal parts, for each of which one (or more) of the artists was appointed so that each had to fill a certain number of reliefs with a certain number of tales. In such a way we can easily understand how it might happen that one of them had suddenly nearly completed his subject with room to spare and began to spin out the last tales, while another had used up most of his panels and had to squeeze the remaining stories into one or two reliefs each.

Whether this explanation is the right one or not, at any rate the fact remains clear that inequality of treatment is found only in these series of short stories, reaching over a great number of reliefs where this manner of working was obviously the most practical; in contrast to the long series representing a connected text.

Should my conclusion be correct that judging by the appearance of the reliefs in general, the artists who executed them only received strict instructions for the chief points in the scene, but were left entirely free as regards the details, then this fact is of importance in another way. The sculptors although undoubtedly instructed as to the outlines of the stories, are not likely to have had the text itself in hand to which they could refer. It was the designer, or designers of the monument as a whole, who selected and divided the texts; the sculptors would have to go by the more or less elaborate instructions about what was to appear on each relief.

If this was not so and we had to suppose that every craftsman worked at his panel with the text beside him it would follow that we must suppose these sculptors to be Sanskrit scholars, therefore all or nearly all of them, natives of India. These texts, at least those that have been identified, are all original Sanskrit texts; no trace has been discovered of any Javanese translations or adaptations. Besides it is quite natural that the texts to be depicted on a sanctuary like Barabuḍur would be taken straight from the canonical sacred scriptures in the original language. That Buddhist Sanskrit with its complicated construction and elaborate imagery should be used to assist the sculptors in their work, implies a degree of culture in the native artists at the Middle-Javanese period which cannot be ascribed to them. The Barabuḍur would then owe its edifying decoration to craftsmen from India and the art of its reliefs would not be a Hindu-Javanese product, but really Indian grown on Javanese soil. However such has not been the way. The man of genius who designed the sanctuary, he it was, imbued with the text and tenets of the Mahāyānistic creed that is here set forth, who selected what he thought suitable for the design of the relief-decoration; an exalted spirit whose learning must have been as great as his religious zeal. It is equally conceivable that this genius came to Java from India as that he was a Javan; in either case he must have been a very remarkable figure, distinguished far above his contemporaries; it would be foolish to judge him by the standard of an average Hindu-Javanese. The sculptors on the contrary, however gifted they were and certainly worthy of the name of artist, should be judged by this standard and cannot be regarded as anything but skilled craftsmen if only on account of their number; we must not fail to inquire what humanly speaking, can be expected from them.

If they were not competent to consult the Buddhist Sanskrit text for themselves and were guided in their work by precise instructions for

each scene, then there is no objection to supposing that these artists were recruited from Java and were Hindu-Javanese.

In my opinion, the short inscriptions that have remained on the buried base also furnish evidence to support this supposition, for they are clearly instructions to the sculptors; Sanskrit words probably taken from the text, but in Kawi writing. This script is only accounted for if it was intended for native craftsmen. Hindu artists would naturally have used their own script for the instructions that were only intended for these who were working on the reliefs. The use of native Javanese characters shews that the sculptors who carried out the carving must have been natives. The language being Sanskrit and not the so-called Old-Javanese, is no objection. The Hindu-Javanese language contains many Sanskrit words, in particular of course those referring to things and ideas belonging to the culture introduced by the Hindu's and which are foreign to the original Malay-Polynesian element. All Buddhist expressions of course belong to this; for most of them probably no other word but the Sanskrit one was ever used. Instructions like those on the buried base were therefore surely in many cases the only possible way to make the meaning clear; they were sure to be comprehensible to the educated Hindu-Javanese, and it would seem to be the easiest way to take them from the text that was to be illustrated. We might even inquire if these words are exclusively "Sanskrit" and could not equally be reckoned as "words borrowed from the Sanskrit in the new Hindu-Javanese language". That they were intended for native workmen is also to be proved by the fact that unlike the Sanskrit, but agreeing with the custom of the Kawi-language, the terminations of the declensions, almost without exception, are left out.

But the most convincing proof that the art of Barabuḍur was not a foreign import but a product of Java itself, is its pure Hindu-Javanese type both as to form and character. This of course does not mean to deny that Hindu-Javanese art as a whole, including that of Barabuḍur, found its origin and being in India, but it stands in Java as a separate unit that combines the originial Indian elements with Javanese characteristics in a masterly manner.

I shall pass over the question as to how far these characteristics must be attributed to the former inhabitants of this island or to some other source, and restrict myself to stating that what we call Hindu-Javanese art is *not* a Hindu-art in Java even though the possibility exists of it having developed therefrom; it is a type found in this form only in Java, an expression of art composed of foreign and native elements, in

which the Javanese element gradually becomes more important. In this Hindu-Javanese art Barabuḍur occupies a special place, but not such, that what is found on this monument must be separated from that art as a whole and reckoned as of different nature. Let me express more definitely what I mean: Barabuḍur is without doubt an extraordinary monument; in its unusual form, its majestic conception, the vast quantity of subjects represented on its reliefs; in fact in every respect it is unique. This inclines us to begin with, to expect something quite extraordinary in the conception and execution of its art and prevents us from sufficiently keeping in mind that from the typically Indian un-Javanese character of the texts illustrated on the reliefs, nothing follows as regards the manner in which these texts were executed.

When we consider the Barabuḍur sculptures by themselves, there is no reason to doubt that they agree entirely with the other Hindu-Javanese statues and reliefs of the Middle-Javanese period. We find everywhere the same method and the same rules. They are essentially Indian in so far placing the chief point not in the beauty of form but in the spirit they endeavour to represent by means of these forms, thus Hindu-Javanese art appeals more to feeling and imagination than to the intellect and to be properly appreciated, should be felt rather than understood. Its aim is to awaken some special state of mind and way of thought; discernment or comprehension is not demanded except as a means of helping towards its ulterior aim. The evident neglect of anatomical detail probably belongs to this old-Indian patrimony as well as several other technical peculiarities. Yet in what we must ascribe to the original Indian art and to its own Javanese quality, the Hindu-Javanese art of Middle-Java everywhere retains its own character; in its single statues and the design of its reliefs, the chief figures and their attitudes, the living and lifeless secondary persons, the want of perspective apparent in the arrangement of the figures among the trees and buildings and the consequent disproportion in things on the same relief; but on the other hand the extraordinary naturalness in the grouping; the loving care expended on all details with a touch of reality and humor in all sorts of unimportant trifles. It is just this last quality, the addition of a few touches not ordered by the text, that does so much to give life and interest to the scene, like the little groups of animals in a forest, the decoration of the pĕndåpå's and pleasurehouses; these are the signs by which we learn to know the sculptor himself, who when not tied to instructions or canonical rules, shews his personality in the accessories. What impresses us still more and what could never have been achieved by rules or regulations, is the

devotion which permeates everything in the sculptors' work; over and over again we see unmista kable signs that reveal the spirit of the artists and shew this was far more than only the performance of an allotted task.

This is true at the same time of all Hindu-Javanese art, though more apparent here or there, and more convincing the more skilled the sculptor may be, not only at Barabuḍur; from this point of view it is really absurd to consider the "Barabuḍur art" as something apart; a Barabuḍur art does not exist, there is only Hindu-Javanese art in general and in that Barabuḍur figures equally with Prambanan and so many other monuments. May be we shall always place Barabuḍur at the top of the list as the finest exponent thereof; but there is no warrantable difference.

However.... even when the evidence before us shews that Barabuḍur represents nothing more than ordinary Middle-Javanese art, we are still aware that this great stūpa possesses a wonderful individual quality not to be found elsewhere. The Dhyāni-Buddha of Barabuḍur can be recognised at once among all other Javanese Buddha statues, the same with the reliefs from this sanctuary, wherever they might be placed. No one with any knowledge of Hindu-Javanese art, will deny this fact, but the reason of it is not easy to discover. When we come to analyse this art, it is obvious that every peculiarity we find, does not exclusively belong to Barabuḍur, but also appears in the rest of the Middle-Javanese art even if perhaps less evident or distinct.

Nor is there any superiority in the execution of the sculpture; the reliefs at Prambanan for instance, in their continual series most suitable for comparison with Barabuḍur, are also the creation of a masterhand and in some respects can boast of more delicacy and greater skill.

In my opinion the striking quality in the Barabuḍur sculptures is not to be explained by any evident quality in the workmanship or artistic conception. It is the spirit that permeates it all, and ennobles everything in some indefinable manner, a feeling of devotion, the Buddhist "bhakti".

I do not mean by this that there is a special *Buddhist* Javanese art. Apart from the question, whether in the historic evolution of what we know as Hindu-Javanese art, distinct Buddhist elements were at work — which is not improbable — this art when it comes to our knowledge has an individual form which finds expression equally on Brahmanistic and on Buddhist monuments. This characteristic, which is possibly connected with the well-known syncretism in the religious tenets of the two great

creeds established in Java, Çivaïsm and Buddhism, need not be further discussed; I shall only allude to cases such as the guardians of the quarters round the Çiva temple of Prambanan who have the appearance of Bodhisattva's and were long thought to be such, and call special attention to the fact that it is impossible to say of any temple in Java from which the statues of the gods have disappeared, which creed it belonged to; neither the design of the building nor the decoration give the least indication and the same applies in the further developed East-Java form, to the rows of reliefs, which purposely represent popular stories without much regard to their tendency. Such texts are thus evidently neutral; they have no particular religious meaning and can be viewed merely as an entertaining and effective kind of decoration. Thus if the subjects of the sculpture shew no distinction between the denominations, it is useless to seek for points of difference in the design, artistic conception or craftsmanship in the Buddhist or non-Buddhist art.

On Barabuḍur however the texts were certainly not of a neutral sort, and that alters the question on this point. The distinct Buddhist character of what is depicted, we have already seen gives nothing special to the execution that might place it outside ordinary Hindu-Javanese art, yet we can notice that other monuments whose Buddhism is above suspicion, are still without that something which distinguishes Barabuḍur. Even a sanctuary like the Mĕndut, in many respects so closely connected with this stūpa and possessing very superior art of its own, taken as a whole does not make that extraordinary impression on the mind which we receive from Barabuḍur; only when we stand in the solemn shadows of the adyton, before the majestic statue of the Master seated between the two grand Bodhisattva figures, do we feel something of the same spirit that radiates from Barabuḍur in the full light of the sun.

It is quite impossible to define or analyse this mystic, fervid devotion to the ideal. It cannot be grasped by the intellect, it is a frame of mind, a feeling, that must be yielded to with gratitude at being permitted to share in the revelation of this divine spirit of Barabuḍur, to experience something of the reverent adoration for the highest ideal that inspired the founders of this sanctuary; for them it was the embodiment of Buddhism, for us the meaning may be different, yet in a spiritual sense the same.

However, this is beyond archaeology or art criticism. We must touch on this subject only so far as to note how the Barabuḍur art, in its widest sense was used as a means of awakening such feelings, how the artists collectively and the designer in particular, consciously or unconsciously

laboured to accomplish this revelation of the spirit of Barabudur. I cannot overlook, even in an archaeological description, the wonderful inspiration that sustains and exalts the art of this sanctuary and makes it a monument for all time.

This feeling or mood was intended to influence the beholder and prepare his mind to receive the message of Salvation. It was principally through his samādhi that he would attain the goal he was to strive after and it is entirely in sympathy with this view that the Buddha's of Meditation surround and preside over the monument "in affecting monotony" — the expression is Rouffaer's [1]). "If ever," he continues, "the Hindu conception of religion has been expressed in sculpture, it is in these personifications". And truly these wonderful figures with their sublime composure, their purity, their serene dignity, radiate something of their own solemn, peaceful meditation; thus these Buddha's, quite apart from their position in the Mahāyānistic system embodied in the Barabuḍur, represent to the worshipper the only comprehensible form in which the Spirit of the Universe manifests itself, and at the same time the image of what he himself may hope to attain. A noble ideal indeed, that must have struck deep into the soul of the believer; to achieve for himself the Saṃbodhi, the perfection of which the Jina's of Barabudur were the appearance-in-form.

The sacred writings that pave the way towards this ideal, unrolled themselves before the pilgrim's eyes as he paced along the galleries.

Various peculiarities, noticed in examining the many series of reliefs, have already been discussed; I shall now only say a word about their value as a whole. If we begin by inquiring if they served their purpose, then we must first find out what their aim was. If we consider that the reliefs were only chiefly intended to give as clear and definite idea as possible of the texts, then we shall have to confess that they only very slightly accomplish their supposed task; the objections already mentioned, especially their avoidance of all sensational incidents, thus the more dramatic actions, and the inconsistency with which they treat the same persons and things, make the study of what is represented far more difficult and we can be sure that the pious pilgrim of olden times — except of course the scholars well-versed in the sacred texts — would have had as much trouble in identifying them as the archaeologists of the present day, unless someone living on the spot had enlightened them; there were probably people for this duty belonging to the temple.

[1]) De Gids, 1901, II, p. 246.

Even then it is more than likely the texts underwent a good many changes in the words of the possibly little educated monks who acted as guides.

We can also regard the reliefs from another point of view, not so much as illustrations of the texts but as a means, with the help of the sacred scriptures, of awakening the devout state of mind described above, absorbing the attention with each ascending circuit till the spirit of the monument and the lesson of salvation it preached, was revealed to the worshipper. The neglect of what we should think was needed in the first place to make the text clear, seems to indicate that their intention was in this direction. The object in view was not to make a certain sequence of occurrence comprehensible, but to point out the inner truth that lay behind these contingencies. The text, in script or in sculpture, being but a makeshift, the spirit of Buddhism, as understood by the founders of Barabuḍur, was their aim and object.

Undoubtedly the art on the reliefs of Barabuḍur does prepare the mind to receive the Highest Wisdom. Western people like us after so many centuries as we wander about the monument, now partly in ruins and partly restored, are deeply impressed by the compelling influence of these long rows of scenes, and it is not our intellect that is moved, for the meaning of more than half of them is lost to us. Yet this marvellous art of Barabuḍur affects us so powerfully that we feel by intuition what the sanctuary means to say. How much more this must have been to those by whom and for whom the stūpa was erected and who lived in so much closer relation to the sphere of Buddhist thought.

The reliefs of this temple found a warm admirer in E. B. Havell, whose books have done so much to rouse more interest among the general public for Indian art of all kinds; he continually praises the naturalness, vigor and grace of these reliefs. "The Bôrôbudûr sculptors", he writes[1]), "have known how to convey the essence of truth as it is found

[1]) Indian sculpture and painting (1908), p. 127. Though I share the author's admiration for the art of Barabuḍur, I cannot conceal that I think he makes a mistake by ascribing to the reliefs all sorts of things the sculptors never intended. On plate XXXV without any proof offered, relief Ia 86, Çākyamuni's bath in the Nairañjanā before the journey to Bodhimaṇḍa, is described as "the conversion of the Javanese to Buddhism in the beautiful legend (invented by Havell?) that Buddha himself came over the sea floating on a lotus-flower to give his divine message to the people." Relief II 30 (plate XXXVIII) gives the quite fantastic statement that this must be Buddha preaching before Māyā in heaven; and this when the "preacher" is not a Buddha and the person listening is a man! Quite amusing is the description of Ib 16 (plate XXXVI) where we know prince Sudhana throws his identity ring into the jar of one of his ladylove's servants; the explanation is given as, one of a group of women drawing water from the village pond, "leaving her household cares a while, kneels at the feet of the

in Nature without obtruding their own personality or relying on any of the common tricks of their craft. Their art, used only in the service of truth and religion, has made their hands the obedient tools of a heaven-sent inspiration; and their unique power of realising this, with a depth and sincerity unsurpassed in the art of any land, or in any epoch, gives them a right to rank among the greatest of the symbolists in the whole history of art." Even if I cannot altogether share in this unlimited praise — the examination of the many relief series shewed us plainly enough how the sculptors were not always up to the mark in their work and often fell short of artistic taste — yet we certainly must acknowledge the statement to be true in the main. The Barabuḍur reliefs do more than illustrate the texts; their art leads to the contemplation of higher truth.

However we may attempt systematically to explain how Barabuḍur art achieves its quite unique position, it has we see nothing to do with a difference in technique or composition between this sanctuary and other Hindu Javanese art of the Middle Javanese period. There is no "Barabuḍur art" to be discussed, it is entirely identical with the rest of Middle Javanese art.

It must not be expected that such a complicated subject as the characteristics of Hindu Javanese art can be combined with a description devoted to one monument however richly endowed with examples of this style. To do this thoroughly would carry us far beyond the compass of our monograph. But the chief point of objection is something else; I do not believe this subject can at present be treated with any chance of reliable results. We are still busy collecting material that in time will yield the general and special knowledge required.

So as Brandes, the best authority on Hindu Javanese art, writes at the close of his great monograph on Tjaṇḍi Djago: "Real, actual study of the building in all its details was impossible; that can only begin where this description ends"[1]). Nor must this be ascribed to modesty on the author's part, it only shews plainly how well aware this scholar was that the scientific knowledge of this monument so carefully examined and described could be called after all nothing more than an "introduction". How much more does this apply to the many other works of art

Master, listening with rapt attention to words full of tenderness and divine compassion such as man never spake before." Compare this with the matter-of-fact statement the Divyāvadāna gives of this episode! In spite of all this sort of thing in explaining the reliefs, there is much that is valuable in Havell's aesthetic opinions.

[1]) Rapp. Oudh. Comm. 1902 p. 2. Comp. with monograph itself p. 114.

whose data are still less complete and unclassified. All we can expect is to discover the origin of a single ornement, the type of some accessory, and that is only successful when taken in hand by a scholar like Brandes. But any profitable research as to the whole meaning of Hindu-Javanese art has so far been inadequate.

This also applies to the question of how far it is possible to distinguish the Javanese additions to the elements brought over from India. Nothing is easier than to enumerate motifs or technical details which either directly or in a roundabout way can be traced to the old Indian art of their original home. But as soon as the question becomes complicated by the various factors that may have influenced them — for instance the Chinese element — then we are in the dark altogether, not only because neither the Javanese nor other sections of Indian art, furnish sufficient data, but chiefly because it is very uncertain in what way Hindu art became established in Java [1]).

Besides in the transplanting of such easily-recognised characteristics as the above (for which no special knowledge of Indian art is needed, for it can be seen at once by placing some photos from Java beside those from other parts, that for instance the schematic treatment of rocks and similar subjects, is copied from India) in some particular cases another connecting link with the rest of Indian art appears and that is, the following of an existing tradition in representing very famous or important episodes. For instance in the chief incidents of Çākyamuni's life-story it could be pointed out several times that the scene was arranged in a certain manner, not because so prescribed by the Lalitavistara text but evidently only to agree with a tradition of the sculptors; the scene was represented in this fashion, because it was the style approved of by Buddhist art in general. The cases where the continuous art tradition could be noticed were all the same very few, and on the other hand there were other scenes whose importance and popularity would have justified some sort of traditional arrangement, yet the Javanese sculptor, within the limits set down by the text, seems to have followed his own fancy. The Barabuḍur artists shew generally a good deal of independence in this respect.

This freedom of idea may in itself be a sign of fine artistic taste, but also in another respect it has greatly influenced the reliefs. As the subjects of the scenes to be depicted were borrowed from Hindu, non Ja-

[1]) In the 4th chapt. of my Introduction to Hindu-Javanese art some information onthis subject has been put together.

vanese texts, it would have been quite natural if the sculptors had done their best to retain the Hindu character of the scene and for instance attempted to depict the life story of Çākyamuni in what they thought suitable to the date and locality of Buddha's earthly existence. The jātaka's and avadāna's and other texts just the same, as most of them are given as being told by the Master himself; in this way we should find all over the monument, the results of an attempt doomed beforehand to failure, in fact a misrepresentation of former times. Just as the "primitive" artists of our schools of painting, Indian art takes no trouble to preserve any historical exactitude in depicting their sacred stories, and fortunately Hindu-Javanese is no exception to this. The Sanskrit texts laid before them are transposed into Javanese by their sculptors.

This applies to Hindu-Javanese art in general, but for Barabuḍur art in particular, for this sanctuary more than any other with its endless rows of reliefs, gives occasion for an unusual display of such numbers and variety of persons, things and surroundings.

From these scenes we get a living picture of the Java of those days. The king's palace as well as the poor man's hut, the women's apartment or the monastery; their daily work, the handicrafts, agriculture, and sailing vessels, there are few things these texts do not touch on. We have here lighted on a store of details for the life of the Hindu-Javanese and the conditions in their community, that are sure to prove valuable when they come to be sorted and explained.

Before beginning with this I must first put in a proviso. We must not accept unconditionally everything we see on these reliefs to be just as it was among the Hindu-Javanese. There must have been instances when the text described things that belonged to the Hindu people from the continent, but were unknown to Java and in such cases of course the sculptors could not resist putting them into the picture. This is sure to have occurred, but we have no means of tracing their whereabouts and on this account let us be careful in drawing conclusions.

In addition to this I consider that some curtailing will be necessary on account of the enormous amount of material before us. To begin with we shall only examine what has to do with human society. No doubt there is much to be learned from a more elaborate study; interesting knowledge might be gleaned for instance by examining the animals and plants depicted that would perhaps furnish new data as to the spread of fauna and flora. This should of course be left to zoologists and botanists and even if the help of such experts were attainable, would I think be misplaced in the archaeological description of an an-

cient monument. I merely note the fact that these reliefs may be found to yield information of scientific interest. Therefore though in my description of the reliefs, I have not refrained to make remarks about the animals and plants as well, where they become obvious in the story or the composition of the scene, I shall make no attempt to describe or classify what the reliefs have to shew us of this sort.

Though we shall confine our attention to the pictures of human society in the widest sense including the supernatural incidents that may be judged entirely by a human standard — we have seen so many times how impossible it would be to distinguish a god with his attendants from an earthly king — we must keep in mind that this monograph cannot make any attempt to reconstruct a picture of Hindu-Javanese culture in its social life. A most attractive subject this would be if the valuable material here at hand could be profitably exploited, but it is in the present state of our knowledge quite hopeless of reliable results. We know actually too little of the nature of Hindu Javanese culture in Middle Java; so the solid basis for such reconstruction is entirely wanting. It would be foolish to deceive ourselves on this point. We are only just able to discern some outline of its forms in what we can learn from the monuments, images and inscriptions; something of the religion and language and the chief points of the kind of government is known to us, but it all remains superficial chiefly on account of there being almost nothing in the way of lirerature belonging to the Middle-Javanese period. Now will all this mass of material that Barabudur has to offer, help to supply us with the means of understanding the life and thought of this period? Not at all; no more than we can expect to understand the character of a foreign people by gazing at a representation of their manners and customs in the cinema.

I am not depreciating the importance of the material itself; my meaning only is that we are not in a position to appreciate its real value, and quite unable to judge of the comparative relation of one fact to another as long as we have no real knowledge to guide us, the indispensable factor that will give us the right insight to the actual meaning of all this passing show of varied life. We are still a long way from this. The very first chief point is lacking almost entirely, i.e. the way in which the Hindu element combined with the Javanese; how much remained individual and how much was lost of each, their influence on one another, their gradual transformation into what at first sight appears so curiously fantastic but on closer examination becomes the harmonious union of Hindu-Javanese culture. It is neither Javanese with a

Hindu varnish nor Hindu merely transplanted into a foreign land, but exactly what the name indicates, a combination of two dissimilar powers, in value also unequal, and therefore the more remarkable it is that they created a perfect whole.

We need not however despair of finally achieving this insight. With the help of East Java, whose Hindu culture has left us so much more data in a rich though so far little known literature, it will in time be made clear to us; there are remnants of manners and customs, habits and institutions still alive in Bali and parallel instances of other places, where as in Cambodia and Campā, a similar combined culture was formed by the amalgamation of native with Hindu elements, that will make it possible for us to discern the real nature and being of that community whose spirit found expression in the sublime structure of Barabuḍur. But up till now this knowledge remains the aim and object of endless labour and research.

All we can do at present is to accumulate material, bearing in mind that by drawing conclusions prematurely we should only mislead ourselves and others. This applies to the material in general and to Barabuḍur's extensive store in particular. We can register and arrange in some degree in the hope by so doing, of somewhat lightening the task of those who will be able later on to give these units their right value, and on the other hand even this short review may be qualified to give some idea of the special importance the subjects of these Barabuḍur reliefs possess both in quantity and value, as pictures of Hindu-Javanese society.

The figures displayed before us on the reliefs of Barabuḍur belong to all classes of society, from the cakravartin, the king who is ruler of the world, to the most simple dweller of the desa. No wonder then, if we begin with the *dress*, that we find it in all possible variety.

The most primitive sort of costume used by the lower class particularly in country districts, appears specially in the reliefs on the buried base which represent mostly scenes of humble life. This dress is nothing more than a loin-cloth. We might think such to be the costume of the original inhabitants, that is the Indonesian people of the island before the Hindu's appeared there and who we might suppose paid little attention to dress and would be content with a loin-cloth. Such a conclusion would be rash, for in the present day many villagers in India can be seen going about in this apparently primitive garment and maybe it was imported into Java and supplanted some still more scanty attire.

The cloth, actually a loin-cloth, that only more or less covers the legs but never reaches further than the knee, is folded round the body so that a corner of it always hangs down in front. In some cases it can be seen that this corner is pulled through a belt which keeps the garment in place, in others the cloth is only folded in a way something like an infants napkin and there is apparently no belt.

It is impossible to say whether the latter fashion is really another sort or only that the belt is not visible but must be considered as present. Sometimes when one of these folk is sitting with his back to the spectator, do we see a corner sticking out behind. This short cloth is worn by the women as well; but with the females it is often replaced by a longer garment reaching to just above the ankles, that evidently resembles the sarong.

The hairdressing of these people is also very plain. The hair is brushed back smoothly and then sometimes hangs down loose, but generally it is twisted into a knot at the back of the head. It is possible there are people with bald heads among them, though more likely not, because those figures whose back hair is plainly to be seen, often have the front part of their head smooth-shaven just like the monks. There can be no doubt about those whose back hair is visible, but those who do not shew the back of their heads might be taken for people with shorn crowns, though the resemblance to the others that are quite visible makes it less probable. Sometimes the line where the hair begins is cut so that it looks as if the figure was wearing a smooth cap. This I think is due only to indistinct work, because many of the persons with such "caps" still wear the ordinary style of hair on the middle of their head. It is quite another thing of course where some of the more elaborate head- and hairdressing fits round the head with a flat edge, which is of course intended for a cap-shaped frame. Those people who have no further sort of headdress and are to be recognised by the loin-cloth as of the lowest class, we can consider to be wearing their own hair brushed back. Very occasionally we find a turban worn, folded narrow and knotted round the head so that one corner sticks up at the top and another hangs down; see O 2 and 118.

The first sign of a better class is a polished necklace and a pair of earrings with a plain flower-ornement. The hair too is dressed differently with a thick band, probably a wreath, round it and the back hair if not hanging loose, is twisted up into a small knot that hangs in the neck under the wreath. But we must not imagine these variations are enough to distinguish one class of persons from another; on the contrary

as far as we can judge they represent the same kind of desa-people, only sometimes better dressed than usual. When anything of their work is to be seen, they appear to be labourers, street-vendors, handicrafts-men, musicians, fishermen, in short ordinary village folk.

Very gradually we rise from these people of the lowest class, those without caste and çūdra's, by a little more ornement, and more costly outfit, till at last we reach the kings and their attendants. There is no very distinct separation between the one group and another, we see the desa-folk talking with men a little more well-to-do, their burgermasters (as we know from the records) and their landlords who again appear in higher company in various gradations, and so on. Possibly the difficulty of setting strict limits is not only the result of the actual conditions of their community but may be owing a good deal to the above-mentioned efforts the sculptors made to bring variety into their work even in depicting the very same person. However it may be, the changes of the various classes in appearance are very gradual on these reliefs.

Still worn with the short loin-cloth, the necklaces begin to be handsomer; they are made of beads or shew a widening on the breast evidently of gold or silver work. At the same time the headdress gets more elaborate; the hair sometimes combed up on the middle of the head into a tuft which is kept in place by an ornemented band round it, or it may be left smooth and a diadem-shaped headdress worn on it, with a trigular ornement in the centre, above the brow, and often smaller ones on each side. The next step is a diadem, not loose on the hair but forming the border to a cap which covers the hair and that begins to have a rather pointed shape; here we already have a simple kind of tiara, low in form but already shewing resemblance to the lofty pointed tiara's of kings and royal persons. Probably as a remainder of the loose-diadem-style with combed-up hair, the higher centrepiece of these plain tiara's often has a spiral twisted-up shape, a kind of headdress we find among the people of the desa but is also seen among the servants and attendants of kings. In the same way we see the supporting band, the loose belt round the waist in which the seated persons like to lean one knee and so ease their position, as much used by the chief men of a village as by the king himself.

After the earrings and necklace, we get rings on the wrists, ankles and upper arm, especially the latter become elaborately ornemented with wide, always triangular plates of metal. The girdle, at the same time as the headdress, is more richly adorned and the caste-cord appears; with the women the so-called woman's girdle, a double band going over both

shoulders and under both arms and fastened with a handsome clasp on the breast. These two kinds of belt are of course seen with all sorts of variations, the caste-cord for instance varies from a plain band to a splendid piece of workmanship apparently of gold links. But the head-dress is always the most elaborate work of art.

There is no need to enumerate all the varieties of costume especially as their gradual transitions into one another prevents us being able to recognise certain classes of people by a certain style of dress; there are a few exceptions to this rule which I shall point out later on. The royal costume requires separate mention, though it must be concise, because what is found on Barabuḍur does not actually differ from what other Middle-Javanese sculpture shews us and is only remarkable for the great number of monarchs depicted and the astonishing diversity the sculptors have managed to introduce.

The only real garment is still the loin-cloth, only altered by the material being more ample so that it can be folded differently and for instance while it hangs on the one side only to the knee, on the other it is longer, sometimes to the ankles; in other ways too this garment can be altered but it seems to be always a long narrow cloth. People who are in a hurry, of course not of the leisured classes, make it easier for themselves by "girding up their loins" and tying the rest of it into a bunch in front of their middle. The ornement above-mentioned becomes a magnificent display of precious stones and goldsmith's skill; then we see richer adornment of another kind by a second necklace that hangs rather lower than the first, more of a breast ornement. Then another belt is put on just below the breast and above the hips, generally flat and with a pearl-shaped ornement. The girdle that holds the garment together can always be discerned, it has now become an important piece of the decoration, always fastened in front of the body with a splendid clasp, often with the two ends of the garment hanging down on either side. Under the girdle can be seen, across the thighs, the wide scarf-like band used when seated to support the knee; when standing it is tied in a big bow at the side of the figure; the ends of this garment do not hang in front but down the side of the leg. In the simpler style of this dress (clearly to be seen Ib 59) comes first the girdle and then the sash, one under the other. This can be enriched by a second girdle below the first one and by winding the sash twice round the thighs: then we get four bands one below the other. On many reliefs it is not very easy to distinguish the two girdles and sashes, the girdles with their ends hanging down in front and the sashes with ends at the side of the legs, but fortunately

there are examples enough (f.i. Ia 16) where the various pieces can easily be distinguished.

The high pointed tiara to judge by its shape must have originated in the diadem or is at least connected with it; the lowest part of it, the band that goes round the head, is the same thing as that of the diadem, with an ornement in the middle and one on each side above the ears. Inside this rises the conical-shaped headdress in all sorts of styles, often built up of rings gradually smaller and more or less adorned with jewels and similar ornements. The ladies prefer a less-pointed shape; above the band there is often a second circle that is decorated with little twists as if in imitation of the natural curls. The whole headgear is often crowned with a flower ornement and hanging ribbons for both sexes. The rest of the women's costume differs very little from that of the men; the caste-cord being replaced by the women's girdle and the dress reaching down to their ankles.

Children are dressed in various ways. Sometimes they wear nothing at all, at least those of the lower classes; they are carried in the slendang which is still in use (O 38, 44). Infant princes on the other hand often wear minature royal dress; they can often be recognised by the crescent-shaped ornement behind the neck that has already been described [1]), and a double band in the style of the womens' girdle, generally with a large clasp in front on the breast, sometimes without a clasp but then made of links like a chain (II B 24). The chief person on IV B 43, with a plain band and crescent has a wonderful headdress; a broad band with twisting figures rising from it, that may be are snakes. It is quite possible this is some supernatural being; the story is an unidentified one. The crescent and band over the breast evidently represent official costume; the ordinary dress of upper-class children will be that of the small boy on O 32; rings on wrists and ankles, a necklace and a little cap with ornemented border on the head. The ends of the garment hanging down at the side of the head do not distinctly belong to the child, but may just as likely be part of the father's dress to whom it evidently clings in fright.

I will mention a few reliefs separately. For the most primitive dress of the desafolk O 34 has very good examples; here we see very distinctly the single loincloth or sarong with a belt. O 111 shews a bit of headgear not seen anywhere else; that is if the wide round, pointed object one of the women is holding is really a sun-hat such as is still used for work in

[1]) I consider this crescent entirely as an ornement; according to Pleyte (Buddha-Legende p. 179) it is the ends of a turban.

the fields at the present day; of course it might be a basin or a rice dish. Among the poor people in series O we noticed there were some wearing a sort of wreath on their head, the same thing appears continually in other places without it being possible to make out what kind of people it really belongs to; there are brahmans (for inst. IBa 71, IIB 35, 80), but also female servants (II 80), and merchants (Ib 67). In the last case foreigners appear in the story and we might think this sort of dress was specially meant to distinguish them; but comparison with the text shews us that though this may hold good for some of the reliefs it is not general [1]). On Ib 58 however the men in this dress who nearly all have beards, and curious rolled-up earrings, are very foreign-looking, on Ib 59 the same sort of persons are in attendance on a yakṣa. They appear in this series continually [2]), especially as attendants and servants, never as chief persons. It cannot be some special costume for solemn or festive occasions, it is not general enough for that and besides it is wanting just where the text describes feasts and ceremonies. We fail to discover what rules have guided the sculptors in this respect; it is perhaps better not to attach too much importance to what may be only a longing for variety or the fancy of some particular artist.

For the headdress, I mention the reliefs where a loose tiara is held in the hand or being offered to someone so that we can see it is a quite separate object, not something that has to be fixed up every time or is arranged with the hair. These reliefs are Ia 6, 36, 37, Ib 9, 37, IBa 275. On III 12 the chief person is wearing a remarkable headdress with three standing-up loops on the second band, that is above the diadem band. We must not forget that this person is a Bodhisattva, therefore not bound by earthly fashions; a similar sort of headdress is worn by some attendants on III B 22 and 83. Probably also Bodhisattva's are represented by the men who in the story IIIB 23 and following wear tiara's made up with locks of hair; we have already noticed Avalokiteçvara's similar style of hairdressing. Hair twisted into loops above a diadem-band appears in other scenes, III 14, 30, 84; these figures too may be heavenly beings, the person on the first-mentioned one whose tiara ends in a flame is certainly another Bodhisattva, the same as on IV 36. Locks of hair above a plain headband we get on IBa 147, men with moustache and hair hanging down in locks who look like foreigners. Then there is a tiara with a large rosette-ornement in front (Ib 57), one entirely of flower-ornement (IBb 116), elaborate decoration of foliage and gold-

[1]) Comp. I p. 287.

[2]) See also Ib 67, 94, 101, 102, 105, 115, 116.

smiths work, also on the breast-necklace and bracelets (III 75, undoubtedly heavenly beings). Among the attendants there are some such as on Ib 60 and 74 with a high sharp triangular ornement in front of a thick round band, or on IVB 56 with large spiral curls on both sides of a pointed centre-ornement; on Ib 24 with a thick band at the back of his head inside which there is a crown-shaped ornement, i.e. lines bent outwards and then turned together into the centre and finished with a pointed ornement on top. It is noticeable that one of the chief persons on IIIB 71 wears a headdress that has the shape of a tiara but has no sign of ornement, this however may be the result of wear and tear. Finally there is a style in which the hair is not brushed up but drawn smoothly back with only a flower above the forehead and behind the ears; this is shewn on Ib 26, 34 and others. Shoes are only to be found on O 116 where a pair of sandals are put ready, wide soles with a couple of straps to fasten them to the feet. Generally everyone, even royal persons, go barefoot.

The women — I here just mention the curious chainlike girdles on Ib 21, IBa 316 or II 127 — often hold some object in their hand, not exactly part of the costume but worthy of notice. First there are mirrors, round with an arched surface and fastened at the back to a long or short handle.

These are to be seen on O 144 and 151 and with a surface still more arched, much too convex for a looking-glass, but that may be the sculptor's fault, on O 17, 69, 139, 148, Ia 54, IBa 51; in *one* case O 32, it is a man who has it in his hand. Another kind of shape with flat surface seems to be in use on IIB 92, but this relief is somewhat damaged. If these objects are really intended for mirrors then it is remarkable that they are not like the looking-glasses we know as Hindu-Javanese, with the handle always fastened to their edge, not at the back, and very slightly convex. The large oblong things that look like flat empty trays and are held in both hands on O 12 or Ib 120, we might also take for mirrors but perhaps they are the same objects that appear on O 70, Ia 98 and II 73 and seem to be only dishes or trays arranged with valuables. Another object continually seen in the hands of female servants is the fan, made of feathers fixed in fan-shape and sometimes fastened to a handle at the bottom (O 72, Ib 26, IBa 281), sometimes without a handle and held through a hole in the centre (Ia 13, 16, IBa 217, II 108; held by a man II 45). A variation (also held by a man) we see on

[1]) For Indian mirrors compare Laufer, Dokumente der Indischen Kunst I (1913) p. 174.

II 31; here the fan is very small, made of much smaller feathers and fastened to a very long handle. This object does not seem to be meant for practical use, it is carried by an attendant in the retinue of an eminent person, the same as another one holds the fly-whisk, more as a sign of dignity than use.

Among the separate categories of people the first are the members of the *Congregation* whose appearance is easily recognised.

Their heads are always shaved and they wear nothing on them, their dress is the same monk's garment worn by the Buddha, such as will be described in the next chapter. We find one relief (Ia 110) with monks of a different sort where, according to the text, the Buddha is conversing with an Ājīvaka (on the relief there are three of them). There is no reason to believe that there were such sort of people in Java; probably these were invented by the sculptor. The appearance of these three men is certainly rather strange; the head quite smooth in front, either shaved or the hair brushed back, has a bunch of hair on the top twisted into a bow in the style of ascetics with a long lock hanging down on the shoulder; the upper part of the body is bare except for a cloth that goes over the left shoulder and under the right arm, the rest of it hanging down; the lower part of the body is covered with a garment reaching to the ankles fastened with a girdle and clasp; they have bracelets round the upper arm and a sect-mark resembling an ūrṇā on their forehead. It looks very doubtful if this costume is anything real.

Bhikṣuṇī's also appear on the reliefs though not so frequently as the monks. We see them first among the Buddha's hearers, IBa 329, II 5 and 8; but also playing an active part, Ib 73 and 74, IBb 117, 127, 128, II 43 and 90. Three of these scenes, Ib 74 and IBb 117 and 127, evidently depict the ordaining of a nun, with the novice seated in front of the members of the order; further details are given in the description of the reliefs [1]), which must also be consulted for the question whether IBb 10 represents a scene of nuns [2]). Finally in the wellknown story of Cuḍḍabodhi, there is a woman in the complete dress of a nun, IBa 73—76, where there is no question of taking the vows, only of a woman following her husband who has become a hermit, into a life in the wilderness. The nuns all wear a garment corresponding to the monk's dress and like them a shaved head. The garment is worn, so that the whole upper part of the body is covered; the sculptor's habit of distinctly shewing the

[1]) See I p. 291 and 455.

[2]) See I p. 443.

human form under the garment gives the appearance of nudity, but the edge of the dress round the neck is always visible and shews it is meant to be there. Both hands appear outside the dress that can be seen to hang down from the wrists. This garment reaches to above the ankles and an edge of the under-garment can be distinguished below it; one corner is thrown over the shoulder, generally the left, but sometimes the right. On one occasion, a secondary figure on II 90, the sculptor gives us an under-garment worn like a sarong and fastened with a girdle, but we may remark that the only other standing figure of a nun — that on IBa 76, as we saw was not actually a nun — does not wear the same kind of thing. The seated nuns — all the rest are sitting — do not shew any under-garment so that the dress of their sister on II 90 remains unique [1]).

It would be useless to enumerate all the scenes where monks appear, their costume is always the same. Nor need we examine those where *brahmans* are to be found, they are everywhere and mentioned in nearly every text. Not that their appearance is always the same; the members of this caste move in all kinds of surroundings and their dress is that of various classes of society, the needy brahman who accepts alms is not in the same costume as the elegant, important purohita, the Court chaplain. Brahmans always wear a beard and moustache; never any head-dress but the hair always brushed smooth to the back and then twisted into a knot tied round with a more or less ornemental band. They are often seen with the wreath already- mentioned round the head, occasionally with a flower, either a real one or some floral ornement, in the front and at the sides, just the same place where the ornements are put on a diadem; sometimes the hair in front is quite smooth and a flower put in the band that fastens the back hair. The rest of this dress in its simplest form consists of only a loincloth with a plain girdle, besides of course the caste-cord; as the brahman rises in the social scale he wears the usual necklaces, bracelets and rings round the arms and ankles etc. Let us take an example from the most typical of them. First the brahman who is a wanderer in the forest in the Çaçi-jātaka, IBa 23—25; he wears a loincloth and wreath, has a bundle on his shoulder, an umbrella in one hand, his staff in the other; nearly as plainly dressed, without the wreath and staff but carrying the umbrella and wearing bracelets, we see the man who is being received with high honour on IIB 13. The brahmans who are among the desa-folk have no other ornement than a pair of earrings and often carry an 'umbrella, in such scenes as O 16, 54, 55 and 122.

[1]) As regards nuns in general, a store of information has been collected by miss Lulius van Goor, De Buddhistische non (1915).

There is a brahman plainly dressed at the beginning of series IIIB; he is seated on a cushion in conversation and elsewhere, for instance IIB 14, sitting on an undecorated chair. In this last scene he has a disciple with him without a beard but with the same style of hair, who carries the umbrella and a square tray with necessaries. There are two disciples on IIIB 84, each with tray and umbrella, and the brahman sits on a curious stool with latticed sides, evidently of basket-work; this is the usual seat of these people. When money and clothing is being distributed, brahmans are always among the first to receive the dole, and it is thereby noticeable that not only the poor and needy but evidently the well-to-do present themselves, as can be seen by their style of dress. Of course we know that this performance of benevolence is principally undertaken for the benefit of the donor i.e. to increase the number of his good deeds; in the Indian community, bestowing alms on a brahman is specially virtuous because he is a brahman, not because he is poor; in the same way, in the texts it is often the most eminent brahmans who get the most gifts. This custom being maintained as well on Barabuḍur is remarkable in so far that we should not expect to find it so in a specially Buddhist community where a brahman was of no more importance than any other person and on the contrary the law of charity to the poor and needy was in force. It looks to me as if the sculptors were here drawing from real life, for in Hindu-Javanese society with its strong Çivaïtic element and powerful syncretism, brahmans must have remained people of importance even as regards the Buddhists. Such so to say un-Buddhist benevolence towards anything but poor brahmans must have been in accordance with the custom of the time. One distribution in particular must be noted, on O 26, where the brahmans have an unusual style of hair, not twisted into a knot, but coiled into loops.

Then a few examples of brahmans in the higher circles with their more elegant appearance, such as those on O 111, who have handsome earrings, IBa 148 the ornemented clasp on the girdle, IIB 88, IVB 56, with other noticeable adornments. The brahmans in this last scene have very curious square-cut beards. We have noticed the distinguished brahman who draws the horoscope on Ia 18 and 19; another on IIB 33 is teaching and on II 70 and 124 learned brahmans are being consulted; in both cases they wear a wreath round their head; one is sitting on a plain chair, the other on his stool. Brahmans are continually met with as advisers and ministers of the kings; among others, very distinctly on Ib 10 or IBa 76; on the latter we see the wreath is replaced by a band with flowers on it. The text shews us that the brahman on Ib 7 is the court-

chaplain and the one on Ib 100 is undoubtedly the same kind of eminent man with his handsomely decorated headband and the retinue of royal emblem-bearers. Taken in the aggregate, Barabuḍur has a fine collection of brahmans, shewing their importance in the community, from the highest to the lowest class.

Though as we have seen, persons in brahman dress are sometimes found in the wilderness and other persons (such as the already-mentioned Cuḍḍabodhi) perform their "tapa" in the dress of a bhikṣu, still most of the *ascetics* or hermits have an easily recognised aspect. According to the texts, hair twisted up and a garment of fibre is the proper dress for the tapasvin, and the first characteristic certainly distinguishes these on Barabuḍur; the hair is twisted up on the top of the head into a loop with or without an unornemented band and then hangs loose.

The rest of the costume is nothing but a belt, of course as plain as possible, with a piece of cloth fastened to it in front just large enough to pass between the legs and cover the privy parts, this cloth may also be made of bark, but that cannot be distinguished. This dress is always finished off with a necklace of coarse beads, sometimes a sort of sash is worn over the left shoulder that can be used to support the knee when sitting. The hermit always has a beard, he often holds a rosary in his hand and when depicted in the place where he lives, he has always a water-jug at hand. The loops of hair are sometimes smaller or larger, or less carefully dressed and the loop is not always distinct so that it looks only like a bunch of hair just tied up; this is evidently of no importance as can be noticed on the consecutive reliefs Ia 75—77 and elsewhere, the identity of the hermits is made clear by the text but in the middle scene they have no loops in their hair and on the other two the style is quite different. Ascetics such as above-described continually appear; for examples see O 16, 26, 28, 52, Ia 40, 71, 72, 102, 117, Ib 40, IBa 26, 65—68, 180, 372, IBb 79 (here we see as well as the water-jug, a dish and a trident), IIB 59—60 (also with staff etc.)[1]), IVB 4. In the story IIB 39—42, hermits play a chief part; there (on no. 40) we see persons with hair just twisted together but not in loops, whose costume plainly shews they are no ordinary hermits. What they really are we cannot tell, and the same is the case with a third type (on 39) who wear their hair in stuck-out loops [2]). We must wait for enlightenment until the text is discovered. At the same time I call attention to the fact worth considering, that the ascetic on Ib 5 has no loops in his hair, neither when he appears again

[1]) See further I p. 474.

[2]) Compare I p. 468.

on no. 15, but his followers have and the same is the case with the party of hermits on IVB24, the leader without, his disciples with the looped up hair.

A few of these hermits are somewhat less plainly dressed and wear a bracelet or a belt with ribbons. Those on O 37 look handsomer too and on IBa 3—4 we see very richly-worked girdles; IBa 127 and II 86 are much the same. Still better-dressed and only shewing their ascetic nature in the looped style of hair, are the figures on IBa 82—85, 108—109, II 115, and O 75; they wear full-dress decorations and the looped up coiffure stands up above a correct diadem band. Compared with the first these are real fashionable ascetics and we wonder if they are some other kind of people altogether; but fortunately these tales on the first balustrade have been identified so that we know for certain these men are only ascetics. Thus we can judge how well these renouncers of all worldly things were able to accommodate themselves to circumstances and at least on the reliefs, as is here shewn, to appear in the royal presence in court attire. But the eminent person who wears the looped up hair of an ascetic above a diadem, with unkempt locks at the side of it, IBa 152, we are not able to identify; he is dressed like a person of distinction and exhibitions of wrestling and dancing are being performed for his benefit.

In one place in the life history of Çākyamuni, Ia 70, we find female ascetics who are mentioned in the text as belonging to the brahman caste. Their hair and necklace is just the same as that of the men; the band over the left shoulder is sometimes as narrow as a string at the top, but under the right arm looks like the usual width of the supporting belt. These women also wear bracelets on the upper arm and the rest of their dress seems to be a sarong with a plain girdle. It is still unknown whether nunneries actually existed in Java such as those described in the Buddha story; though we know for certain that women also practised tapa and descriptions have been found of communities with male and female hermits like those frequently mentioned in Indian literature; therefore it must be left undecided if this relief represents what the sculptor was used to seeing in his own surroundings. Perhaps the girl who on Ib 34 brings a refreshing drink to a tired man with a wreath of flowers on her head, her hair tied with a band and hanging down at the back, as I remarked before[1]), may belong to a hermitage in the style of the idyllic Sāgara whose praise is sung in the Nāgarakṛtāgama[2]).

[1]) See I p. 266.
[2]) Canto 32—34.

Another class of persons, ascetics in a kind of way, but not to be identified as such, are the ṛṣi's; they have a somewhat different aspect. The distinction is not very important because in the days of Barabuḍur there were no more living ṛṣi's to be found either within or outside the community [1]), so the sculptor either followed some imported tradition or was obliged to draw on his own invention for their appearance. Unfortunately the only scene where we are certain of having a ṛṣi before our eyes, I a 31, where the great seer Asita is uttering his prophecy about the new-born Buddha, is not very distinct; the ṛṣi whose nephew and companion is dressed as an ordinary hermit, seems only to differ from the ascetic type in his hairdressing, wearing instead of the looped-up style, a large round bunch of hair tied up on the top of his head, with hanging locks arranged on either side. Another very dilapidated figure on Ia 29 with a mass of unkempt hanging hair, is possibly also a ṛṣi although he is wearing a handsomer kind of belt. In the series on the chief wall of the second gallery, those on 24 and 29 may be the same kind of seers; they are not quite the same but both resemble Asita in their style of hair, fastened into a bunch on the top of the head, not in loops, with locks hanging down at the side, while they have further the appearance of an ascetic. They both waer a broad headband without ornement, the latter (no. 39), actually a parivrājaka, is sitting on a brahman stool, he is living in the wilderness with a disciple and a waterjug; a jar with a lid, a shell on a pedestal and a trident are beside him.

Before leaving the subject of costume and hairdressing, I must call attention to a couple of noteworthy scenes. O 36 is very curious, we see curling locks of hair that hang from a chignon at the back of the head; horizontal stripes in the beard such as the brahmans wear on IV B 56, we find again with some very simple folk on O 35 and IV B 11. In contrast to this a couple of men on O 148 have their beards divided in vertical lines as if it were a row of imperials. Finally let us notice the widow, identified as such by her single plait, on Ib 107, and then the negro or Papuan slave with his woolly head on IIB 33. He is proof positive of a custom known to us from the inscriptions, but being unique of his kind among all these reliefs, he shews that in the time of Barabuḍur the keeping of such slaves must have been very exceptional.

Weapons on the whole seem to have been little worn; they certainly do not belong to the ordinary kinds of dress and only very seldom do we

[1]) I use ṛṣi here in the same meaning as that of the texts i.e. the old Seers, not as came into use later, for instance in the Nāgarakṛtāgama, in the sense of brahman hermits.

see any person engaged in peaceful conversation who is armed, one instance being the chief figure on II B 80, a man who looks like a brahman, seated on a stool and wearing a short broad dagger at his side. They only seem to have weapons when occasion may require, but of course the soldiers, palace guards etc. are always armed. The later-Javanese custom when every man of any importance wore a kriss in his belt, seems to be quite strange to the society of Barabuḍur. The kriss itself, this is noticeable at once, does not appear at all. [1])

If we begin by examining the simple folk in the series on the buried base, we find at once on O 2 a man with bow and arrow, the arrow having a triangular barbed point and feathers at the top. Then on nos. 4 and 8 there are executioners with large flat swords, the blade of which is slightly curved, becoming wider and ending in a point; further on we see on Ib 79, the royal executioner using the same kind of sword, only straighter; so it looks as if this is the proper weapon for executions. No. 10 shews an attack with a dagger and on no. 24 there is a fight going on with the same swords as well as a spear, a club and a blow-pipe, the two last, as we see on no. 91, being the usual weapons for small-game hunting. Big game, as will be described later on, was hunted with bow and arrows. The spear is very seldom seen, it is found in the hands of a hell-fiend on no. 92. These are the various kinds of weapons in use among the people who appear in these scenes; I may mention that another shape of sword with a long straight blade that we see so frequently on the higher galleries, seems to be much less used by the lower classes than the flat, curved, broad shape. A warrior's dance is being performed on no. 5 by four men, three of whom hold a small round shield in the left hand and in the right a dagger, a curved sword and a spear respectively; the fourth has the same kind of sword and a large square shield [2]).

Turning to the higher classes we find a different scene but not any other sort of weapon. Armed guards and soldiers are to be found on nearly all reliefs in the retinue of kings and persons of importance on their journeys and at the doors of the palace etc., but the weapons are always the same; straight swords, large oval shields, bow and arrows and the flat curved swords, but the last are much less common than the straight shape. The back of the shield is sometimes ornamented with a circle with a square point at the four sides or perhaps only top and bottom, sometimes with nothing but a square. I give a few examples, most from the

[1]) That the word kriss was known, appears from the inscriptions, but we cannot tell what it signified at this period.

[2]) Both sorts of shield (tameng) still exist, for instance at the bĕksan-ceremony.

large distinct scenes on the chief wall of the first gallery, but there are many more to be found. Both kinds of sword are present, separately or together, with and without bow and arrows; the straight with the round shield is seen with a large troop of soldiers on Ib 10, together with bow and arrows Ia 32, Ib 28, II B 16; both kinds of sword Ia 13, the flat swords with round shields and bow and arrows Ia 39. The four-cornered emblems on the shield are seen Ia 8, 25, IBa 14, the two-pointed on Ia 19, 22, the square, I Ba 254. The arrows are found tied in sheaves (Ia 32, Ib 33), or kept in a quiver (Ib 37); also a closed up quiver such as we see on Ib 76 may have arrows in it.

As regards the straight sword, Ia 67 shews us the sheath held loose in the hand, therefore the shape is here very distinct. Shields are found in some variety. Besides the ordinary round ones, we see on Ib 44 (in combination with a dagger, as in some very rare instances elsewhere) a large rectangular shield with slightly curved long sides; on Ia 9 the edge of the round shield is adorned with tassels. A smaller kind of oblong shield is to be seen on Ib 40, a rectangular one, narrower in shape and curved, on Ia 31 and Ib 104. The same in smaller size is on Ib 6 and 97, still smaller, only a hand-shield, on Ia 56. Of course it is not certain that there is actually any difference in size, possibly the variation is only due to the sculptor.

The pictures of fighting are few and must be cautiously treated. Those on reliefs Ia 94, Ib 47, IB a 47a, we know do not take place on earth; they represent battles between celestial armies, but the same weapons are used as above-mentioned, the two kinds of sword, round and square shields, bow and arrows as well as a club and blowpipe (Ia 94), a battle axe and spear. The warriors in the fourth battle II 113 — we do not know whether they are earthly or celestial soldiers — are fighting with both kinds of sword and shield and some with daggers as well; the shields here are very small but this the sculptor must have done purposely to gain space for the combatants. The cuirass too that is being presented on Ib 69 is far too small for use.

In addition to their armed followers, kings and people of importance were always accompanied by *emblems shewing* their *rank* and position. The most general attribute, common as well to persons of lower rank, was the umbrella and likewise the bearers (male and female) of fly-whisks are not always in the company of persons of the highest class. There is no distinct style of umbrellas according to the rank of the official they belong to; possibly the color shewed this as it did in later Java. Sometimes they are ornamented with ribbons or a tuft of hair on the handle like

the camara's, but this adornment is added quite casually here or there. Some few other emblems belong chiefly to royalty as the large fan in the shape of a sinté leaf and a feather fan also with a long handle; it is narrow at the bottom but spreads out very wide at the top. As fourth attribute sometimes a very large fly-whisk appears; on relief Ib 1 and 12 we see the four objects placed next to each other. It is not possible to discern exactly what the feather fan is made of, it is sometimes longer and narrower (Ib 22), and then shorter and wider (Ia 62); the „feathers" are rather wide, rounded at the top and the centre-spot, occasionally added in the lower part (Ib 22, 105), makes them look like peacock feathers; on II B 50 where they are more finished off it seems very likely, but on the whole these objects are not shewn with much detail. We can only see they consist of about three to seven rows. In some cases the fan is left quite smooth and can only be recognised by its shape (Ib 94).

Such attributes are always carried behind the people they belong to, there are others, standards, banners and the like, often taken along in the same way but also fixed into the ground by way of ornament. It stands to reason that these objects and emblems just described would sometimes be set up when the eminent person was resting, and we can often see plainly that this was done with the umbrellas. Those I now speak of serve sometimes as fixed, unmoveable ornaments or if placed in a temporary position, they do not follow any special person. The least important are the banners that appear of two sorts. The first consists of a narrow strip of stuff, fastened to a pole so that part of the long edge is stuck to it and the rest waves loose; these can be seen for instance on buildings (I a 35) or next to them (III 3), behind a seat of honour (Ia 87) or in a pĕndåpå (Ia 84, compare IB a 80). They can also be found borne by a procession that is paying homage as on Ia 12 [1]) and IV 26. The second sort can be seen on Ia 91 and IVB 65; here the banner is only fastened with its end to the pole where it curves at the top and streams out all its length. The flag-staff is sometimes split in two with a banner on each; instances of this are found on Ia 93 fixed up, and carried in the hand on O 141, their identity being given by the inscription patāka. Even split in three with triple pennons on the same pole it can be seen, and that as decoration to a templebuilding on III 20 and 31. Perhaps the objects on IBa 11 and IVB 8 must be reckoned as banners, though they are not very distinct.

[1]) This relief gives as well some fans in the shape of a large flat gem decorated with flowers, but these objects appear only in this scene and are in the hands of gods, so we must not suppose they existed in reality.

The triple banners on III 20 just mentioned, are four in number; they are set up next to two stambha's placed on either side of the temple, one bearing a trident, the other a winged shell, both having a broad cushion-shaped pedestal; the banners below their triple branch are fixed into the same kind of pedestal. Next to another temple on III 32, there are stambha's on each of the four sides with small lions on them, also fixed on a pedestal and therefore belonging to the building; at the side we see two more siṃha-stambha's. Shell and trident are also carried on separate poles, the trident only once, IB a 206, the shell several times: with wings on Ib 65 and II 18, without wings on Ib 83, II 72 and Ib a 166. In this last scene we may remember next to the seated Garuḍa there is a pole set up bearing the figure of a bird[1]). The cakra is quite a favorite, found on Ia 91, Ib 68, O 33, IBb 101, II 92, III 59, III B 58, and once or twice at the top of a banner IB a 47 a, where it is apparently an ensign of battle and IBb 11 [2]). A staff bearing the jewel is also not uncommon, as we see on Ia 73, 91, Ib 75, IBa 168, 260 and III 59.

Beside these we have standards that are not meant to carry some special emblem but have a cushion-shaped top with a small ornament on it; these appear in various forms, set up as a fixture next to a building as well as carried in the train of a distinguished personage. We find them on O 29, III 47, IV 10, 20, at the top of a banner, and further on Ia 73, Ib 70, IBa 292, 369, II 76, IV 26. There is a round ball-shaped top to a standard on O 132, Ib 63, IB b 118, II B 92 and probably IB a 359, but most of this has been knocked off. The curious broad top to the banner on Ib 33 we must not give too much attention to, it may be nothing more than a suitable finish to the banner. Finally let us notice on Ib 83 a couple of standards with a clasp shaped like a shamrock leaf by being bent inwards at each side, like the frame of a lamp; they are finely ornamented. Though much plainer, the staff a monk has in his hand on IV 28 is very much like these, it also has the same sort of clasp with bells hung on it to attract attention [3]). Such kind of objects are among those that have actually been found in Java.

There was a pole with a small box at the top on IBa 175. The text there shewed us that this was not an emblem or an ornament, but the box contained a sum of gold to be carried throughout the land as a reward to the person who should fulfil the king's wishes.

[1]) See I p. 403.

[2]) Cakra and triçûla are still carried in the retinue of Javanese princes. Comp. Groneman, Ind. Gids 9, I (1887) p. 116.

[3]) Compare Foucher A. G. B. II p. 270; De Visser, Arhats, p. 189.

Also belonging to the emblems, though very fictitious ones, are the seven royal attributes the *saptaratnāni*, the „jewels" belonging to the ruler of the world, the horse, elephant, disk, gem, spouse, general and minister (or pater-familias). These are depicted in several scenes where the cakravartin appears. They are partly easily identified, cakra and cintāmaṇi hovering in the air on lotuscushions as well as horse and elephant, but the rest of the seven are not always to be found, especially the male figures. On O 129 we get the first cakravartin-scene, the „spouse" is evidently the queen seated beside the monarch with a halo behind her head; then on the ground are seated six male attendants all alike, none of them being recognisable as "general" and "minister". O 132 shews five similar attendants and here it is even impossible to distinguish which of the ladies near the king is really his "jewel of a queen". In contrast to this on O 159 we see on a separate seat, next to the group of the king himself, on one side a woman and on the other a man, the queen and *one* of the male jewels, but where is the other? Relief Ib 44 is no better; the saptaratnāni are here flying through the air, the four objects are distinct enough, so is the queen, then comes the yakṣa who according to the tale[1]) acts as herald or if need be as general or minister — he advises the king continually to start new wars — but behind this group there is nothing but an umbrella-bearer, and in any case the seventh jewel is missing entirely. On the first balustrade there is a story twice shewing the saptaratnāni; in the scenes IBa 285—287 the queen can easily be recognised but not the male jewels, and on reliefs 290—291, behind the four other jewels in the air, there is a chariot in which the queen sits beside a man in ceremonial dress; this person might be one of the male jewels and then the other is missing; but most likely it is the cakravartin himself. The queen with the four ordinary jewels is found on IV B 1; then III 59 is noticeable because jewel and disk are not on cushions but placed at the top of standards, and here we look in vain for the queen. On III B 58 again the disk is at the top of a standard but the (very indistinct) jewel seems to be hovering on a lotus cushion. The male "jewels" here are not indicated at all, the queen not very clearly. To sum up it looks very much as if the Barabuḍur sculptors were not familiar with the saptaratnāni and perhaps are shewing us the pañcaratnāni — only in a single instance do they give us one of the male jewels and sometimes also lose sight of the queen. At a later period the saptaratnāni were really known in Java as we see by their represen-

[1]) See Vol. I page 262 and 271.

tation on the Amoghapāça-statue sent to Sumatra by Kṛtanagara in 1286 and their mentioning on its inscription [1]).

The ceremony of consecrating a king, the *abhiṣeka*, appears to be depicted in a few scenes where a brahman is sprinkling someone with a brush in one hand and a shallow basin with holy water in the other. The most indistinct are IBa 216, where the brahman is coming towards a royal personage but there is no sign of what happens, and Ia 50, the marriage of Çākyamuni, where at any rate the new garments and wreaths suitable for a consecration are put ready. On IBa 275 we can see that a servant is bringing the royal tiara; but IIB 18 is by far the most remarkable. The king is sitting in the middle without any adornment, his hair hanging loose, between two standing officials one of whom performs the sprinkling with water out of a shell, the second, a brahman (the others are too indistinct to be classified), holding a jar which he is emptying over the royal head. A third person standing holds another long-shaped jug and a fourth has some object in his hand too worn-away to be identified. Courtiers kneeling at the side hold ready the garments on trays with all the ornaments that belong to the dress of kings. This scene should be certainly noted as an authentic picture of the abhiṣeka of a Hindu-Javanese king [2]).

Brush and bowl we saw too on Ia 114, but there the brush is thicker and is not in the hand of a brahman but of one of the important citizens of a town where Çākyamuni is being entertained at a banquet. Every where else the sprinkling is done by brahmans with a brush like a shaving-brush. We see them on IBa 116 at the homage of a stūpa and again on IBa 1 performing some rite to a young child. There again are two of them, one with the brush and shell, the other pouring some liquid over the child's head from a jug.

Nurses for small children in many cases are in no way distinguished from ordinary women; but there are scenes where they seem to be indicated by a curious headband in the style of a diadem with thick round pompons on it. This sort of nurse can be seen on O 44, IBa 145, IIB 10,21, 32, 76. There are many more nurses who do not wear this headdress, but the fact remains that this kind of costume is only found on nurses in charge of small children. It is impossible to make out why there are so

[1]) Pleyte in Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. 49 (1907) p. 175 and plate 2; the author in Versl. Meded. Kon. Acad. v. Wet. 5de reeks: 2 (1916) p. 326 and 330 sq.

[2]) For the abhiṣeka consult the article in Goldstücker's Dictionary on this subject (1856) p. 274—287; Weber in Abhandl. Berl. Akad. der Wissensch. 1893; Law in Ind. Antiq. 48 (1919) p. 84 sq.

many of them on the second balustrade; if this is not due to any fancy of the sculptor the coincidence should be noted. Sometimes, not always, a double band that looks like beads is worn with this headdress (IBa 145, II B 76); a thinner kind of necklace is worn on IBb 53 and 100, but the headdress is now indistinct. The same with IIB 24, where the women have a very thick necklace with a sort of fringe to it; the children on this relief are too big to be nursed. I will here just mention the few instances of children's playthings; relief Ib 36 shews a miniature standard with a cushion-shaped top, very likely a rattle; IBa 120 probably a rattle of simpler shape, and IIB 32 looks like some sort of bell unless it is meant for a flower. I also suggested the possibility that the little kinnara's being made on Ib 51 might be intended as playthings for the small boy who appears in the scene. Children playing in the water seems to be the subject of Ib 95. *School* where lessons are being given first by a brahman, then a monk, we find on IIB 25 and 26; in that on relief 25 the scholars have books in their hands, but at the other school they are listening most respectfully to the master. In the school where Çākyamuni receives his first lessons, or rather proves that he requires none, Ia 38, the scholars who seem to be older, also have books; further scenes of instruction-giving are the whole series that begins with O 79, then IIB 33 and 34; in this last scene the scholars are no children but grown-ups, some with beards. The same with the instruction in the Veda's given by the sons of the gods before the birth of Buddha, relief Ia 3.

Eating and drinking takes up a very small place, less perhaps than we might expect though it is hardly a subject for edifying tales. A few times we see food being prepared. First on O 2 where a cauldron is fixed on to a trivet over a wood fire, which a man is blowing up with a blowpipe; another sits next to him cleaning fish to be cooked in the pot. The knife he is using is just the shape of the present day wĕḍung [1]). On O 15 we see a wide flat pan also on a trivet and some-one blowing up the fire; another man stands by, stirring with a spoon and holding a smaller dish in his hand. A third time we find something similar on Ia 84 where the rice is being cooked for the future Buddha; here too a large cauldron on a trivet over a woodfire and two women, one with a spoon, the other with a blowpipe. In conclusion may be mentioned O 89 where fishes and tortoises are being boiled by two evildoers, who will soon receive the same treatment themselves in the infernal regions.

[1]) This is remarked by miss Tonnet in Elzevier's Maandschrift 1907, p. 87.

The meal itself we find ten times (O 12, 14, 20, 97, 122, 144, Ia 29, 112, Ib 66, IBb 15), the bill of fare appears to be always the same, the well-known "rijsttafel". There is always a large ball of rice in the middle with small dishes of various viands all round it, more or less in number and distinctness. Unusually elaborate and by good luck unusually well-preserved are the "rijsttafels" on Ia 112 and Ib 66; on the latter we can plainly see the fishes and the *saté* just as on the famous Prambanan relief [1]). Sometimes the fish are served on top of the ball of rice. Drink is not always given, but we see drinking cups of rather wide or bowlshape being filled from a jug with a spout, while relays of food are being brought to the table; the large bowl that is being served on Ib 66 might perhaps be intended for a sayuran. On very rare occasions we are shewn a drinking-party with its attendant dissoluteness: they drink out of wide bowls and the spirituous liquor is poured out of a jug with spout so as just-mentioned, or a small-sized martevan such as we see being brought to the table (O 97) or a jug narrow in shape with a long neck, pointed spout and large handle, the same as used for water-carrying at the well on Ib 16. A smaller scene of this kind we find on O 90 as a prelude to hell-punishment; again more circumstantial, on O 20 and IBa 59; what makes this affair still more disgraceful according to the Buddhist sculptors, perhaps intentionally, these offenders are brahmans.

As regards *buildings* I must here be very concise. Brandes has already remarked several times that their chief importance consists in the data they afford for Hindu-Javanese architecture and later Parmentier has called attention to the same thing though so far provisionally [2]). On this account it was considered better to discuss this section of relief-subjects in the architectural part of this monograph, where such data are treated with the architecture of the whole building. I shall merely enumerate the scenes where these buildings chiefly appear. The greater number of them are palaces, temples, reception-halls and such splendid, richly-decorated buildings, with which in many cases the sculptor though he may have been ruled by the general principles of construction and ornament, has often given rein to his fancy and designed monuments of ideal form, such as did not exist in reality. Buildings of this kind are found specially on O 24, 31, 33, 43, 100, 103, 124, 131, 140, 141, 143, 147, 149, 152, 155, Ia 6, 10, 15, 19, 25, 26, 35, 37, 53, 54, 55, 61, 62, 64, 73, 81, 109,

[1]) Reproduced in Rapp. Oudh. Comm. 1902 plate 20.

[2]) L'architecture interprétée dans les bas-reliefs anciens de Java, Bull. Ec. Franç. d'Extr. Or. 7 (1907) p. 1—60.

112, Ib 1, 11, 16, 25, 29, 33, 37, 50, 79, 81, 82, 84, 87, 91, 96, 100, 106, 107, 112, IBa 16, 26, 346, IBb 10, 15, 16, 22, 28, 33, 40, 42, 45, 52, 61, 68, 72, 84, 93, 95, 97, 99, 104, 110, 113, 114, 119, 125, 127, IIB 7, 8, 81, II 31, 38, 68, 93, 105, 112, 114, 126, 127, III 3—7, 11, 13, the temple series that begins with 20, 69, 70, IIIB 67, 88, IVB 36, 38, IV 42 and 60. Besides these there are buildings which are evidently mostly copied from what the sculptor saw around him and are therefore valuable evidence for the architecture of that time, and for their ethnological importance would be worth comparing with what is found now-a-days in Java and other parts of the Archipelago. Besides plain pĕndåpå's on O 7, 14 etc and probably some of those in the series above enumerated, in particular gateways and small temples, there are specimens of this kind to be seen on O 30, 47, 65, 119, 123, 158, Ia 23, 116, Ib 54, 86, IBa 271, IBb 106, IIIB 87, IVB 4, 14, 18, 21, 50. What a courtyard looked like, we see something of on III 11; on the left of this scene is a palatial-looking house, in the centre is a pĕndåpå where the owner of the estate receives his guests and on the right is the rice-shed. Between the house and pavilion in the background there is a fruit tree. A fruit garden enclosed in a fence, but with no house near it, we find on O 61 [1]).

How the buildings are arranged inside does not appear. Whenever a scene takes place indoors, the sculptor shews us *one* hall or apartment between the outside walls, sometimes with a smaller side-apartment or gallery next to it or on both sides; but never anything more, so that the addition is intended probably only to explain the situation, not as a section of the building as it actually would be.

In this way we do not learn much. Take for example the large hall on II 36, that is divided into three parts by pillars, each part being roofed with a double arch ornemented with a design of foliage turned inwards (conventionalized makara's), hanging flowers and bells; it is impossible to imagine this to be the section of any real building. It might be true that the roof is supported by columns (probably wooden ones), but the loose foliage under the roof is practically impossible. How the sculptor arrived at this is quite evident; by dividing the space into three with the pillars, he obtained three niche-shaped compartments in a row; these he treated like the niches we so often find on the temples with the same sort of arch and foliage-ornament. The effect is very fine, the design into

[1]) Ponds are depicted on O 147, Ia 82, Ib 3, 5, 97, IBa 115, 148, 221, IBb 36, 38, 39, IIB 61, II 74, 75, III 38, IV 43. They are rectangular, enclosed in a border, evidently made by hand, even those found in the wilderness. It seems that the sculptor manufactured a conventionalized pond wherever it was needed, without regard to surroundings.

„niches" is very artistic, but it does not give us the impression of a hall. Let us not blame the artist for this, we have not the least right to expect from him an architecturally correct section of the apartment and he is perfectly justified, as long as he gives the spectator the idea of the incidents taking place in a hall, in giving his further attention to producing an artistic relief. So the spectator must be satisfied with this as a work of art, while he knows it shews him nothing of what such a hall is like in reality.

This is the case not only with this relief which I selected as a very clear demonstration of what is to be found on innumerable others and can be accepted generally for all sections of this kind; even those which I note as possibly being taken from reality we must judge as adapted more or less to the sculptors artistic requirements. To achieve his aim he may often have introduced some detail from his own time and surroundings, it is not likely he would intentionally avoid doing this, but unfortunately we have no criterion by which to test the real or fantastic elements here put before us; except in such cases as the one just discussed where any one can see at a glance the practical impossibility of such kind of ornament or construction. Everything remains in general very uncertain and can only be guessed at, for instance whether decoration of garlands that is so usual with the pĕndåpå's, and is also found in the roofs of halls should have actually existed and whether they might be attached to flower shaped ornaments in the way we see on II 37 and others. Another kind of roof decoration is made with semi-circular cushions that hang down as if the whole surface were upholstered; this too is seen in pĕndåpå's (f.i. IV 66 where bells hang from the centre of the cushions) and in halls of audience (see, with others IIB 20, where rosettes are attached to the cushions). Sometimes we see only one of these ornements right in the middle of the apartment (Ib 63, IIB 50). It is quite reasonable to suppose that this sort of decoration existed in reality, but how can we make sure of it?

Then added to this is the restricted space available on the reliefs for the buildings. The figures acting in the scene must have the first place and are therefore generally represented in apartments quite out of proportion to their size, in which if they stood up their heads would touch the roof. The result is that the sculptor can only find room for his persons and the mostneeded of the larger pieces of furniture; with the small ones that take up less space it is another case, as we shall notice later on. There was of course no chance for any interior decoration of the apartments. In Māyā's sleeping-room on Ia 13, we see only the recumbent queen with

her women and one dish; the famous scene of Çākyamuni's awakening in the night on Ia 63, shews only the Bodhisattva on a bench and the sleeping women; there was no room for a proper couch. In the hall of the palace on Ib 74, the band of garlands round the ceiling is all we see of decoration to the apartment, the same with the cushion-ornament we noted in the roof on IIB 20; a large couch and a lamp is all the furniture in the room except some small objects put away under the couch. It is the same everywhere; nowhere is there any decoration on the walls. All the same we can get some idea of what the walls look like on reliefs such as O 32 and 73. There the chief person is seated on a wide throne behind which a beautifully decorated wall can be seen. The rest of both scenes takes place in the open air, so that this cannot be meant for the wall of a room, but at any rate it is a large space that has to be decorated. In the first scene this is done with small pillars on each side of a flat panel under a cornice of garlands and rosettes; the second shews a wall covering in the design of a cross and rosette with four lobes, and a row of round vases above [1]). Though it is quite uncertain if the walls of a room were decorated or even if the whole ornament is not due to the sculptor's fancy, it seems suitable to make mention thereof.

As regards *furniture* first comes the couch, the balé-balé of the present day. In its most primitive form we find it, for instance on O 13; a plank on four legs, quite rough and without ornament. The beginning of improvement was by decorating the legs, so as can be seen in the next scene O 14. Next, when the bench is placed out of doors, a roof supported by four columns is fixed over it and that becomes the beginning of the pĕndåpå. We can notice as described above, how the sculptors tried to give the best place to the chief actors in the scene and keep the rest subordinate, so that the balé-balé when occupied by several figures is made the right size for them, while the pĕndåpå cannot possibly be stretched beyond the narrow limits of the relief and must be made too small in proportion, only large enough for one or two persons, far less than a pavilion in real life would accommodate; in fact about as many as might find room on a simple couch. As the distinction between the roofed-in couch and pĕndåpå we can see that the first stands on legs and the other on a foundation; should the lower part be out of the picture then it is not possible to distinguish one from the other, their design and decoration being so much alike. On the other hand, the couch being sometimes made with

[1]) Another similar instance is found on IBa 35; there it seems as if an actual building can be seen in the background behind the seat.

a back, is easily mistaken for a chair, especially when only one person is seated on it and it is made rather shorter. The real couch is of course one on which a person reclines and then this piece of furniture often takes up the whole apartment. This we see on IIB 81. There is a still more curious one on IIB 20; at the head it has arms like an easy-chair, the back is high but it slopes down to the sides and rests on four legs, cushions are arranged on the back and within the sides that support the sleeping figure. On IBb 19, there is nothing but a stone bench on which a mattress is laid with a bolster; in this case we can see the resemblance to a pĕndåpå foundation. Sometimes not even a foundation or bench of any sort is given and the sleeper merely laid down on a mat; this is actually done on Ia 13 to queen Māyā, the future mother of the Bodhisattva.

Thrones and seats there are plenty of, in all shapes and sizes. The simplest kind is the square undecorated pedestal we find very often, which even when it is improved with some ornament so as on IBa 191 or II 30 and 51, is nothing more than a block of stone or wood with the figure seated on it cross-legged. It can be made more comfortable by adding a mattress and bolster as the woman in no. 51 does; the chief-person on II 89 does not even require the pedestal but sits on the floor of his pavilion with just a mattress and bolster. Out-of-doors it may be necessary to give this kind of seat a small roof supported on pillars; the roof is in most cases flat but occasionally in the shape of an arched niche (O 42) or finished with a three-cornered pediment (O 79).

Both kinds of seats, pedestal- or chair-shaped, can have a back which is nearly always without arms. The construction may be quite simple, merely a cross-piece ending in a couple of knobs supported by two straight legs, more or less ornamented, and generally in the design of makara-heads at the ends. In this last style is the empty throne prepared on Ia 87 for the Buddha, with a large bolster on it; further on, Ia 105, he is seated on one of a plain shape with a back and a very elaborate pedestal so we see that chair-back and legs and pedestal are not always equally decorated. Examples of distinctly handsome seats on a pedestal are found among others, on Ib 118 and 57, both in makara-design; on the first-mentioned it has become conventionalized into tendrils; the throne on legs, Ib 79, has a bold rich makara decoration, where we see behind the elephant-heads the same spiral or tendril ornament familiar to us with staircase and gateway makara's. On Ib 13, seats are to be seen with a pedestal and with legs, side by side. Sometimes no pedestal at all can be seen and the back seems to rest on

the ground so as Ib 79 shews us. In such cases both mattress and bolster are desirable, see II 62; there are many instances of this sort. Here are nearly always bolsters at the back, though little can be seen of the mattress or cushions; notice one special instance on III 41, where a pattern of squares is discernible. In front of the pedestal there is often a cloth hanging down.

There are very few examples of arm-chairs. On IIB 9 and 89 both seats are empty, placed ready with a cushion; possibly such chairs were in more general use than would appear by these two instances, and the sculptors preferred to shew their figures more distinctly without arms to the chair. A cushion by itself without any chair appears on IBb 92, and on IV 41 there is a cushion laid on top of a lotuscushion, therefore evidently intended for a Buddha or Bodhisattva. Sometimes on the top of the chairback there is a semicircle (IV B 2) or a niche (IB a 167) introduced; in one case (O 27) a separate decoration is seen behind the whole seat, apparently not attached to it; columns at the side and roofed over by an arch shaped like an accolade, with a kāla head in the centre and makara ornament turned outwards at the side above the columns.

There are some seats of a different shape worth attention. The empty chair on IIB 27 shews a chairback with open work in squares on the back between two pillars; on the top of the chairback in the middle is a threecornered ornement in the shape of an antefix, while the usual ornament at the ends has the character of a corner antefix. On Ia 49 the pedestal is not rectangular but hexagonal. No. IV 21 is a very remarkable one, where the pedestal is made like a small temple, it belongs to a Buddha and therefore is not subject to human requirements; the same with the hexagonal throne ornamented with lions, occupied by Çākyamuni on Ia 111. Lion-thrones are quite common, used not exclusively by a Buddha as on IV 26 or a Bodhisattva (II 127, III 12), but also by a woman(II 65, 71, 79, 107, in the last it is goddess). They are always designed with lions supporting the seat or as smaller figures against the foot of the throne. There is one instance where (Ib 113) a man in royal dress is seated on an otherwise ordinary seat with legs, while a small lion appears underneath in the centre. On II 128, already-mentioned, there is a figure mounted on two of the four lions under Maitreya's throne; the back is ornamented at each side with the favorite design of a rampant lion on the recumbent elephant's head, while the lion supports the back of the chair with its makara ornament. Such thrones are made specially for the Buddha (Ia 100, 113, II 1); in one instance Çākyamuni's throne is supported by a human figure instead of the lion (Ia 101) and the same vari-

ation appears in the empty chair probably intended for a Bodhisattva on IV B 61 and the throne for a human being on II 121.

Besides the large seats and thrones, there are smaller stools and footstools and benches. We have already noticed the low brahman-stools made in reality of cane; a very plain kind with only one twisted line between the top and bottom, is found on IIB 25, but as a rule it is a curve between two uprights (see for inst. IIB 56, 79, 80, II 124, IIIB 72, 82, 84), sometimes angles instead of curves (II 39). On O 156 a stool of this basket work is being offered as a gift; IIB 83 shews us a very fine specimen. One of the three brahmans on IIB 32 is sitting on a stool like this, the other two on a bench the legs of which are twisted, and turn inwards in a point. A similar kind of bench can be seen on Ib 36; the three-legged footstool on IIB 21, used by a nurse with a child, is much the same. Besides these uncommon specimens there are some very ordinary ones, just a plank on legs, these can be found on Ib 35 and 38, but there is no reason to mention everything of the kind.

Under the thrones and couches the space is continually used for stowing away small objects. *Boxes* and *chests*, square or rectangular, sometimes open, sometimes closed with a more or less arched lid [1]) or fastened round with bands; long cylinder-shaped packages tied round with flat bands, high jars with wide bottoms, pots and martevans, jugs with and without a spout, flat basins often piled up together, cups and goblets of earthenware with and without lids, dishes with wreaths on them, round boxes and all sorts of things. They are to be seen on nearly all reliefs where there is a chance to put them in and we may consider that in such details the sculptors probably depicted reality, only the place may be due to the fact that the space under the seats was very appropriate for such paraphenalia. The contents are seldom definable, when it can be seen they hold something. The most distinct are the chests, bowls and trays holding valuables, rings and coins for instance on O 113, 127, and IBb 20; on the last scene they are not under the seat but being offered as a gift. On Ib 19 leaves are hanging out of the opened box with a lotusflower here and there among them; on O 73 we see an open dish with a comb on it, next to this is a basin with a lid and a couple of balls; Ia 54 has wreaths and O 30 fruit on it. For further utensils of this kind placed under the seat see O 6, 11, 18, 27,

[1]) There is a very large chest being carried by four men with yokes on IIB 53. The chest on IBa 266 is of monumental shape; the lid with its ornament of stūpa's looks more like a roof with its antefix border, the whole chest is probably a reliquary.

43, 65, 70, 116, 125, Ia 60, Ib 71, but they can be found almost everywhere.

Dishes and bowls besides those found on the ground, are seen in the hands of persons who appear in the scenes, first of all the small bowl carried by one of the attendants in the retinue of all persons of distinction, just in the same way as the sirih-utensils at a later period. This vessel is nearly always as if folded in shape, rather narrow at the bottom, and widening out at the top, in a few instances (IV 55 and others) it is high and narrow. It is also to be seen in unfolded form, like a flat bowl rectangular or round. The contents is seldom to be seen, but sometimes there is something sticking out over the edge, not always the same. We see things like leaves and also loops either separate or together; in every case where the contents are visible, we see also two rather pointed hook-like pieces bent over the edge and in most instances these objects are the only ones discernible or far more distinct than the others. I give some examples: hooks III 23 and 43; leaves, Ib 76; leaves and hooks II 23; loops and hooks IV 56, loops and leaves (square ones) IIB 54 and 55. Notice IIIB 23, where as well as leaves and hooks, a kind of rosette with loops at the four sides appears. We might think that in spite of the variation in the contents of these vessels, they are all intended to hold the same ingredients, one or other of which happens to shew over the edge. IIIB 44 is quite an exception, there a necklace is hanging out of the bowl.

I have just alluded to the set of sirih utensils; it has actually been suggested [1]), that these folded vessels contain betel-leaves and that betel-chewing was already a custom in Java at this period. This is certainly not impossible, for already in the fourth century in Further India, pinang with chalk and betel was being used [2]); but on the other hand in the seventh century, the part of Sumatra visited by I-tsing only made use of pinang mixed with spices [3]) and sirih-chewing in Java is first reported in 1416. The exact truth therefore can not be established and the varying contents of these vessels on the reliefs, makes it advisable to leave the question undecided.

[1]) Huyser in Ned. Ind. Oud en Nieuw, I (1916—17) p. 134—137. Pleyte too seems to have been of the same opinion; he labels these utensils "Sirihbehälter" and "Spucknäpfe" under the reliefs on which they appear (Buddha-Legende p. XV). Tonnet l.l. p. 92, considers the vessel to be the forerunner of the sirih-leaf utensil but is of opinion that this object made of fine basket-work on Barabuḍur is intended for some other use.

[2]) According to De Groot in Feestbundel Veth (1894), p. 266 sq.

[3]) A record of the Buddhist religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago, trans. Takakusu (1896) p. 45 and 48.

All other bowls and dishes, either held in the hand or placed beside or among the figures are nearly always, when the contents are discernable, filled with flowers and wreaths. Examples can be seen on Ia 74, 78, 81, 107, 120, Ib 27, 55, 85, 103, 120, IBb 117, 127, IIB 32, II 27, 37, 44, 49, 52, 57, III 8, 43, 68, IVB 36, 65. These flowers and wreaths appear on every possible occasion, paying homage, receiving audience, religious ceremonies, and in Bali at the present day it can be seen how this tradition has been preserved, even to the way of piling up the wreaths into a pyramid such as those on Ia 109, Ib 39, II 8. Jeweled ornaments, especially bracelets for the upper arm are to be seen, held ready or offered as gifts, on trays, for inst. Ia 9, 16, 17, 26, IBa 1. The flat dishes being held slantwise as on O 70, Ia 98, II 73, is probably due to the wish for letting the contents, some sort of ornamental figure with a frame round it (is it a cake?) be plainly visible. At distributions as will be seen later on, there are trays with jewels, rings, moneybags, garments and such like, prepared for distribution. Jugs with a spout are also quite common. For peculiarities that appear only once like the dish with the bowl full of something between two small objects on O 43 or Ia 9, see the description of the reliefs themselves. A pot or bag of peculiar shape like a paperbag is shewn on O 54 and IBa 326 b.

Vessels that appear continually either in the hands of persons or standing about, are *lamps* and *incense-burners*, which are not very easily distinguished from one another; the waving line seen above them may just as well be a flame as the smoke of incense. They must generally be meant for incensories, as the scenes nearly always represent daylight. When held in the hand, the person very often has a little fan in the other hand to rouse the flame. These objects are of all sorts; small and elegant (Ia 5, 21, III 43), rather larger and of an elaborate model (II 4, 5, 13, III b6, IV 26, 36), then very plain (Ia 100), with a flat top (IBa 232), a heavier top (Ib 83, IV 17), a short squat shape (O 81, IV 33). Occasionally there is one without any stem Ib 85, or in contrast, a very tall thin one like a torch (Ia 59). Sometimes there is an incense-burner with a handle at the side for carrying it, as on Ia 114, IIB 68, II 81. The standing incense-burners are generally the same shape as the above-mentioned, except those with the handle (see Ia 18, 24, 69—71, 74, 92, 106, Ib 74, IBa 80, 167, 235 etc. II 99, III 14, 47, IVB 72, 73); as they are not intended to be carried, we find also larger (O 125, IBb 33, 128), taller (II 83) and thicker ones (III 21, IVB 50, IV 15); besides these there is now and

[1]) Groeneveldt, Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca, compiled from Chinese sources, Verh. Bat. Gen. 39 (1876) p. 49. See also Encycl. v. Ned. Indië (1st ed.) IV p. 3b6.

then one, not in use and closed with a lid, as on II 22. Very curious in shape is the incensory on III 61, with a wide square ornemented top on a slender stem and the one on IVB 55, with a large censer in the centre and a smaller one at each side. Large lamps with branches for several lights are found occasionally near buildings as on O 24 and 155; let me here recall attention to the extraordinary temple with lamps or incense-burners on III 25, which of course cannot represent any real building. Finally IIB 20 is important; it shews us a sleeping room, and on each side a hanging-lamp with its oil-vessel in a bracket, the very same as specimens that have been dug up in Java; here we have undoubtedly before us an existing example of the means of lighting. On that same relief there is a bracket hanging to the ceiling of the room containing a bowl with a scalloped edge, attached to a centre piece and shewing a point on each side that looks as if it might be a flame and the whole object a lamp, though we cannot be certain of it [1]).

Vases are also very important utensils, used for flowers, especially for lotuses both red and blue. These are often very simple in shape, round and undecorated as on O 78 and Ia 91; in the same style as when used as roof-ornaments (II 80, 82). The round-bodied shape is also found decorated, with a band round the middle as on IV 65, moreover ornamented on the side of neck and foot as II 30. A taller, more slender shape is less common, see Ia 6, 88, just as the very high narrow sort on III 68. The most ordinary shape is a vase that widens out right below the neck and then goes narrower to the foot, see O 66, Ia 54, II 2, III 36, IVB 44, IV 20; with ornamented band round the middle II 62. These are all without spout; but cases with a spout are quite as numerous. Among them as well the shape just-mentioned is more common, wider at the top and going narrower at the bottom, such as Ia 97, 107, Ib 73, IBa 80, 269, II 25, 76, III 3, IVB 24. But there is also a slenderer kind of these, see IBa 191, II 14, and a fat-bodied sort, II 78. Flowers are often placed in shells (turbinella's) fixed on a trivet as on Ia 92, 96, 108, Ib 1, IBa 290, III 26; these are also to be seen empty, f. i. IBa 85, II 39, or used as holy-water font as seen above. Basins of a shell shape without a stand also appear, as on O 150; trivets with an ordinary vessel, IBa 118.

Other *domestic utensils* have mostly already been described, such as are used for cooking, at meals and drinking-bouts; I shall only mention

[1]) The numerous perfume-ornaments, mostly in the hands of celestial beings on the higher galleries, need not be mentioned separately. As an exception notice the tall, pointed object wound round with crossed bands on IV 14, evidently copied from an earthly model; the one on IV 40, seems intended to be burnt into odoriferous flames.

here some peculiarities of shape etc. We have noticed martevan shaped pots among the vessels placed under seats; the same sort of thing, good examples of which can be seen on O 2 and 19, are the large jars in which valuables are kept, more or less varied in form. Jewelpots are found on IBa 60, III 15, IVB 32, 74 and especially III B 64, where the lids are furnished with large rings as handles. There are some very large jars of valuables on IBa 267, and though only partly visible, on IBb 24; in this last case the contents are not disclosed. Various kinds of vessels are placed together on O 80 and 128 and a large round one with a lid that is ornamented on Ia 84. Small basin-like dishes are used on O 10 and 42, little bowls O 154; small round basins with a lid on IBa 29, little round pots on O 37 and with round stoppers Ib 88, a bottle shape, II 25, an ordinary gĕndi on O 80 and 82; besides these the hermit's water jug that has already been mentioned. Vases with a spout of curious shape can be found on O 32 with a very bulky body, Ib 37, with a very wide mouth, IBb 83 of extremely large size. For a teapot shape though the spout is not visible, see IIB 21, this may be just a pot without a spout. A dish in the shape of a boat we see on III 52; with scalloped edge on IVB 61, tall and narrow, IBa 207. Among the standing vessels we see one with a very fine pedestal on II 49 and on IIB 15 another handsome specimen with sides in a design of narrow upright leaves. The jug with a lid rather like a beer-mug with two handles, is quite unique on IVB 61. As for spoons, besides with the cooking pots, they can be seen on O 19, IBb 79, and IVB 10, in this last scene it is being used to serve from a plate with.

There are still a few uncommon objects the reliefs shew us that must be noticed; the real use of some of them is difficult to define; some attempt to do so was made in describing the separate reliefs. The contents of the tall jar on O 2, a stick or handle, the top part of a cylindrical object fastened by a knob and a round dish with a lid, are three things that seem to belong together and perhaps have something to do with the sick child on the couch above them .There is an undefinable object being presented on O 150; it seems to consist of two round dishes fastened together, each having a lid, possibly the same thing as the double cocoa-nut so popular in Java and elsewhere; nor can we identify the object with loops to be seen on IIB 59 above the hermit's waterjug, it looks like an areca-pincher, if it were not for the little bag hanging to it, a sort of butterfly net. Large corded bales shaped like a sugar-loaf on IBb 83, and round ones on IIB 11, are put away in a store-room, evidently provisions of some sort. Not as mysteries but unique curiosities, I recall attention to the parcel tied up with cross-bands on IBb 12, and the extraordinary

manner in which someone on IV 36 is making an offering of flowers on a tray resting on a long handle.

Next we come to the various trades and occupations represented. There is not much to be learned about them from scenes among the higher and highest class of people as most of these are. *Agriculture*, to begin with, only appears in a few scenes. Two of these shew us ploughing, IBa 336, and (unfortunately very dilapidated) IBb 2. The plough is drawn by a pair of bulls, the yoke resting on the shoulder in front of the hump, with a collar round each beast's neck. The plough itself is the ordinary primitive square shape, by which one side scrapes along the ground and forces the ploughshare into the earth; the other side sticks up with the top bent over to the back and guided by the hand of the ploughman who walks behind and directs it with his left hand, holding a stick in his right [1]). On the first of these reliefs we can see plainly the bands that hold the ploughshare. There are no other scenes of ploughing; a man with an ox but without any plough appears on IIIB 1. In connection with agriculture O 65 should be noticed, where a couple of men are keeping guard under a grain-shed next to a field of maize that is ravaged by rats.

As for craftsmanship the most remarkable scene is the *bridgebuilding* on IV 46. The bridge is being laid over a swiftly-flowing river, and is apparently made of bamboo; though the relief is rather damaged and the bridge is far too small in proportion to the men who are working at it, yet the sculptor shews clearly how he intends to construct it. It must be taken from life, for in the interior of the country it can be seen at the present day that these kind of bridges are still used. It is three-cornered in shape; bamboo-poles, fixed into the ground on both banks of the stream and bound firmly together at the top, form the two sides and hold the base that is the actual bridge. The workmen are just fixing it at the top; the tools that some of them have near them are not distinctly to be seen, but the pickaxe on the Bodhisattva's shoulder is quite clear. The square tools carried by the men on O 5, 118, 122, and IBa 154 have been taken for ploughs, but most likely they are the beams for the *carpenter;* if this is correct, — the relief at Prambanan where workmen are making the scaffold for a cremation makes it probable [2]) —, then the tools that

[1]) For the primitive sort of plough, compare plate X in Juynboll's Catalogue Rijks Ethnographisch Museum XVI (Celebes, 1922) and description of same plate.

[2]) See Stutterheim, Rāma-legenden und Rāma-reliefs in Indonesien (1924) p. 155 and pl. 22.

look like crow-bars, carried by the men on IBa 154, together with the beams, probably also belong to the carpenter's work.

Another example of work that can be clearly understood is the *potter's* on IBb 107. On one side we see the jars already made, on the other side the potter is at work, using a flat stick to get a good shape. Bearers with carrying-poles are bringing large round balls, it may be clay or gourds with water. Women and children are looking on just as natives always do. The same is to be seen on Ib 98, but it is not possible to make out distinctly what is going on. An old man with a square hammer is hitting a small object that he holds between his thumb and forefinger on a kind of carpenter's bench; another man has a tool like a chisel in his hand and seems to be working at some small objects that are laid in front of him on a broad flat block. On Ib 51 craftsmen are probably making the little kinnara's that seem to figure in the story; one of them is working at these images with a straight stick, another has a bow-shaped tool in his hand, a third is hacking at a long piece of wood with a sort of pickaxe. In another scene, O 30, a man is sitting with a tool on his shoulder that looks like a hammer, perhaps an adze to judge by one edge being blunt the other sharp; he is not using it so that we cannot see what work it is made for.

In describing Ib 2 I remarked that the man who walks in front of the troop going into the forest, holding a peculiar kind of knife first bent into a right angle and then having a broad curved point, must be there to cut out a path: the same kind of knife with the name "siwah" is still in use in the Lampongs[1]) and found in Madura as well, while several kinds of kuḍi shapes shew unmistakeable resemblance to it. *Grass cutters* are always easily recognised by their tied-up bundles of grass and their tool, on O 117 a reaping-hook, on IBa 21, a sickle. For Ia 90, we must rely on the text that the man is a grass-cutter, for he is pulling it with his hands, not cutting, supposing the relief is correctly identified.

In the series on the buried base, twice we come across a man whom we are in doubt about, whether he belongs to the handicrafts or trade. He appears on O 39, 50 and 97, with a stand made of bamboo that has a semicircular lump of something on it, and legs formed by poles that split into prongs at the bottom so that it can be carried on the owner's back or fixed up in the ground. Such portable stalls are not uncommon; they are still found in use nearly the same in construction, for instance in Middle-Sumatra. What there is on them is not very distinct; on O 39

[1]) Illustrated in Ned. Indië Oud en Nieuw, 8 (1924) p. 48.

there seem to be a couple of fishes hanging at the side, on O 97 a pair of birds are next to it. In the first case we might take the man to be a travelling food-seller and the round object would be the basket-cover kept over the food, but neither of the reliefs shew anything to confirm this idea, and the birds make us think they may have been the objects preserved under the cover. Moreover the "basket" on 50 is so flat that it does not look like a basket, but more like a whetstone. In short, it is better not to guess about it; possibly these are not always meant for the same kind of traders.

A real *merchant* or trader is certainly to be seen in Maitrakanyaka on Ib 106 and 107. In the first scene he is not actually shopkeeping but just handing over the profits to his mother, but the jars standing near to her may of course contain some of his wares. No. 107 however certainly represents a shop, only we are not able to make out which of his continually flourishing businesses it is meant to be. As far as the damaged state of the relief allows, we may take it to be the goldsmith's. The purchaser seated opposite to the merchant, is holding a pair of scales, in one scale there is a ring and in the other there seems to be a bag of money. Between the two persons there is a bundle of something like sticks and a round bulky pot. A few pieces of stuff are hung over a rail, out of place in a goldsmith's, shop as we must hesitate to call it.

According to the text the chief person on II 118 should also be a merchant but here he seems to be dispensing only edifying discourse with little attention to business; in front of him is a small table on legs that surely would have given us some information, if its whole top had not been knocked off. Though Ib 56, the Çibi-jataka, is not by any means a shopkeeping scene, it must be mentioned in this place for its large weighing machine, a cross-beam resting on two posts to which the actual weighing-instrument is fastened in the centre, a balance with two scales. It is ornamented here and there, as befits a thing in royal use; some examples that have been dug up are also finely-worked.

The men we see carrying various things in a *yoke* may often be street-vendors, but sometimes they are on other errands, as for instance the man on Ib 41 who is taking home the corn that fell from heaven in a miraculous shower [1]) and the one O 1, who is carrying away the fish caught in the tunnel-traps [2]). Then again O 50 where a man is carrying

[1]) These miraculous showers generally consist of jewelled ornaments, Ib 43, IV 7; with coins as well, Ib 82, IBa 259—262; even garments Ib 42, III 29. The texts generally relate a succession of various showers, compare above Vol. I p. 414 note.

[2]) As regards fish on carrying-poles it is interesting to notice the similar custom in Further India, for instance Le Bayon d'Angkor Thom II (1914) gal. ext. face Sud aile Est. pl. 22.

his goods in this way, while another bears a load on his head; on this relief notice the sort of little roof that is fastened to the carriers yoke to protect him and his wares from the sun. Then look at the little round pots on O 37, or the square trays with feet and conical cover on O 43. Water-bearers carry their jar in their hand or on the head, as shewn Ib 16 or IBa 221, but in the last scene we see the larger jars are being carried in a yoke.

There were of course literary men and artists in the society here depicted, as some of the scenes shew. Reliefs have already been described where teaching is going on; I will now mention scenes where *books* appear, O 77, 79—82, 84, 85, Ia 3, 38, IBb 72, 110, 126, 128, IIB 7, 8, 25, 33, 34, III 56, IIIB 8, 9. The books correspond to the well-known kropak shape; they open into loose leaves held in the hand, and when closed are bound round in the usual way with bands; three straight ones at both ends or across the middle or slantwise across the whole book. Sometimes a rosette can be seen, probably an ornament on the cover. When necessary, books are laid on stands or trays or may be, if IBb 10 really shews a book [1]), on a small three-legged table. Once or twice at homage-paying ceremonies, objects are being carried which look like two books tied together with cross-bands; they are really larger than ordinary books, so perhaps only meant for oblong boxes; there is of course no reason why only books should be tied together in this way. These things are found on II 55 and III 49. An unfolded letter, oblong in shape with an edge to it, is to be seen on Ib 65.

We see that *portraits* were not unknown, by Ib 22 and 23, and Ib 70 where a portrait of the Buddha though rolled up and not visible is being escorted with due honor and respect by a procession. There is a small carved Bodhisattva image in a niche on the roof of a building on III 34; Ib 54 probably shews us a picture in painting also fixed on the upper storey of a building [2]).

Hunting and *fishing*, however much forbidden by the Buddhist creed and included in the crimes punishable by hell, as we see by the reliefs on the buried base, were naturally common enough in the not altogether Buddhist Java; we need not be surprised to find scenes of this kind often enough on Barabuḍur, where several of the jātaka's are stories of the chase. In contrast to these there are a few instances where animals that have been caught are set free again, as on O 9 and IV 43.

Fishing is done in various ways. On O1, only tunnel-traps are being used;

[1]) Vol. I page 443.

[2]) Compare I p. 243.

the traps are just being emptied, they are the same as what we use now-a-days with a wide opening, then narrowing to the end. The same thing is in use on O 118, but at the same time two other ways of fishing are going on, the fishing-rod at any rate is plainly to be seen. The second way seems to be with a scoop; the man stands ready with a round wooden scoop open at the end which he manages with his left hand, holding in his right a rope that runs through two holes in the sides of the scoop close to the open end; the way of fishing is evidently to steer the scoop with the left hand so that it comes under the fish and then pull the rope up suddenly so that it cannot get away. An apparently simple manner of fishing that requires considerable skill. On O 109 two men are at work with a large draw-net they are pulling through the water.

Hunting of the simplest kind can be seen on the reliefs of the buried base; smoking out rats on O 87, bird-killing, with club and blow-pipe, of small birds on O 91; of larger birds with bow and arrow on O 118. On IBa 79 a swan is being caught with a snare as we know from the text, but there is nothing to be seen of it on the relief. But on IIB 64 it is very distinct how the hunter is laying snares to catch a peacock.

Monkeys on IBa 102 and 199 are hunted with bow and arrow as well as with blow-pipe, but bow and arrow is always the favorite weapon. The hunters on Ib 3 and IBb 4 have no other weapon, and kings who go hunting use nothing but bow and arrows. So the kings on Ib 89 and IBa 74, each with a small retinue, both have bow and arrows as well as the monarch on IBa 97 and the one who is on horseback on IBa 90—93; in the case of these two last we can see what they are hunting; a deer and a çarabha respectively. There is often a whole hunting party depicted entering the forest; the men on IBb 71, who are chasing the deer and those on IIB 57, who are after deer and wild boars, have bow and arrows as their chief weapon, though in the last scene there are one or two with swords, who might belong to the guard and therefore probably are not meant for hunters. With a royal hunting-party we may of course find an armed escort sometimes, but bow and arrows are never missing, they are evidently the weapons of the chase. The king himself is often seen on horse-back, the animals he hunts are either deer and wild boar or only deer. The royal hunting parties alluded to are found on Ib 93, 99, 114 and IBb 111. Archery was undoubtedly held in high honor and we can easily understand that when the hero of some of the stories has to give proof of his accomplishments, shooting with the bow is one of the tests, for the great Siddhārtha on Ia 49, and for others on Ib 17 and 119.

As to animals used for *riding*, the famous horse Kaṇṭhaka who carries his

master, the future Buddha, at the Great Departure, is to be found on Ia 64—67. This horse is treated in the usual careless manner of the Barabuḍur sculptors; on relief 64 and 67 it is quite bare, on 65 it has nothing but a band round its forehead and the Boddhisattva is sitting without any bridle, his legs drawn up on a saddle that also appears to be quite unattached to the animal's back and is flat in shape; on 66 however the horse has a bit and bridle as well as a saddle with a high back, the sort that can only be ridden astride. Both styles of riding are found elsewhere; with legs drawn up on Ib 2 and IBa 90, astride on Ib 93, while the saddles on the horses standing ready on IBa 169 and IBb 111 are also for the ordinary way of riding; Ib 36 is too indistinct to decide about. Besides saddle and bridle horses generally wear an ornamented band with bells round their neck. Judging by the best-preserved and most carefully finished animals on IBa 91, 93 and IBb 111, there were various styles of harnessing a horse; the saddle fastened with a belly-band, a strap across the chest and under the tail, and moreover a collar, intended only for ornament and trimmed with bells, we see on IBa 93; but the bells are put on the strap in front of the chest and behind the tail, while there is no separate collar, on IBb 111. The horse on IBa 91, the very same as the one on 93, has bells on the chest-strap, no collar and no strap at all under the tail; in other scenes as well the crupper is not to be seen. Armed horsemen often appear at the head of an important procession when the chief person is carried in a palanquin or on an elephant, as on Ib 33, II 42, 54; and there are postilions on the horses of a carriage on Ia 39 and II 46.

The animal of state and ceremony is of course the elephant. Horses and elephants are seen together in a royal procession (IIB 17), or standing in readiness in the retinue of distinguished persons (Ia 31, 39, Ib 91, II 26); the mahout with his angkuça often sitting on its neck. In the same way elephants without horses are found Ia 16, III 85, IV B 82. They generally wear a band round the forehead with a three-cornered ornament in the centre of it, and very often a cloth thrown over their back. The elephant on Ia 16 has a bell round its neck and two other bells hanging on either side of its body; but the one on Ib 39, 91, has bells all round its collar and along the strap that goes round its chest and body and under the tail; there is also a collar with bells on IBa 37.

All these various kinds of bell-ornaments, the single one on the collar, the collar with bells all round it, the crupper as well, the side straps with single bell hanging from it, are also to be seen when the elephant has a seat or a howdah on its back and then sometimes there are bells along

the bottom of the seat. The usual way of fastening the seat is either by two straps both passing under the animal's belly or by three, the middle one round the belly and the others going in front of the chest and under the tail. The chair is generally nothing but a seat with back and arms, sometimes open so that a cushion can be seen in it, as on II 97 and III 87, or else closed, with higher back and sloping arms as on III 3; or a sort of tray, with sides more or less ornamented, see Ib 14, 20, 92, III 9. A higher shape of the open sort, fixed on to a separate bottom piece, is shewn on III 20; something different is on Ib 70: here the man riding on the elephant is sitting in a box closed on all four sides and ornamented with pilasters, while the seat has back and arms as well. Another on III 50 is square and has a roof supported by pilasters; this is used for carrying dishes filled with what looks like wreaths and flowers. On II 54 we find the most handsome specimen of the seat on an elephant's back; first the bottom part made in framework with pilaster ornament on it, then the back resting on curved feet and then the slender delicately-shaped pilasters that support the roof with a ridge and a bell at each end.

Palanquins are also used for travelling; several times when describing the reliefs in detail we noticed that even where the text required some other vehicle, the sculptor has depicted a palanquin, a fact that may be due chiefly to the lesser space it would require in the picture, but also because he was accustomed to seeing these vehicles in use around him.

The most primitive kind of palanquin is shewn on IBa 75; it is no more than a piece of cloth fastened to two poles and borne on the shoulders of four men, the person carried sitting only on the cloth hanging between the two poles. The kind most commonly used is rather different; a flat board on two carrying poles with a back to it that is not always distinctly shewn; there are generally eight bearers to this. On the reliefs the person carried is always placed facing the spectator while the palanquin is left in profile; the result is that the back of the seat behind the figure is fixed on the side, not on the back of the vehicle. It is difficult to believe that this was so in reality; probably the sculptor, to do justice to his figures, ignored the construction of the palanquin. The back, like that of other chairs, is more or less ornamented; the design is chiefly makara at the ends of the cross-piece. This style is to be seen on O 150, Ib 33, 81, IBa 39, 51, 123, IIB 17. An empty palanquin without a back is standing ready on IIB 86, it is nothing but a seat with a back and front edge with holes for the bamboo carrying poles. Occasionally we find handsomer specimens than the ordinary sort, these have arms as well as back and often twelve bearers, see IIB 83, 88, III 10. No less than

sixteen men are needed to carry the splendid large palanquin on II 42, it has high sides at the front and back of the seat, decorated with a panel and pilaster, and the roof has an edge of antefix-ornament round it. If these panels belong in reality to the front and back or to the sides, we cannot be sure.

The *carriages* drawn by horses are all four-wheeled and with only one exception there are a pair of horses (having collars with bells as well as saddles); the wheels have always eight spokes. Besides this there is some further variety. One sort of vehicle looks just like an armchair with wheels fixed under it; this is to be seen Ia 56 and 57. It does not look very serviceable and we can see that the sculptor got into difficulties with the coachman. The whole carriage is only a seat for the chief person, therefore no room was left for the driver on the vehicle itself; he has been placed behind the horses, that is the upper part of his body appears there and only because no legs are to be seen do we realize that he is not standing but supposed to be sitting on something. On other reliefs where evidently the same kind of carriage is represented, the seat is fixed on a wide body that ends in a shaft, there is room on this for a servant to sit behind the seat and for the coachman, with another servant if required, in front. This sort will be found on Ia 58, 59 and IBb 38; on the two first reliefs the end of the shaft is ornamented with a small lion and on the last there is a banner fixed on it. All the scenes mentioned so far shew the chief person seated facing the spectator and the carriage in profile.

The chariot shewn on IBa 290, without horses and flying through the air, is nothing more than a square box on four wheels. The one on Ia 27 has a large high body decorated on the outside with panels of beautiful triçūla-cakra design and on this reclines the queen to whom the carriage belongs among her cushions, with a higher back and lower arms to her seat. The shaft ends in a curved flowerbud; the coachman is mounted on one of the horses.

The carriages next to be discussed are covered and all have the coachman riding as postilion, except Ia 34 where he drives his four in-hand sitting on the shaft. This shaft has a flag on it, just like Ia 39; in both cases the vehicle is the same sort found on IVB 17; a flat body with pillars at the four corners supporting the canopy; the back of the seat has ornamental balusters round it. In the first two scenes an armed guard is sitting at the back of the carriage.

There are one or two examples of something again different. First that on IIB 65, where a peacock is being carried to its destination, and where the whole affair perhaps has nothing to do with reality; the cart has a

wide high body in frame-work and on that are the massive pilasters that support the roof; the peacock is sitting just in the middle but there is no sign of any back or arms as might be expected if it were intended for human beings. The one on II 46 also looks anything but real; it is in fact a pavilion, such as eminent persons so often sit in on these reliefs, put on wheels. The sides are unnecessarily thick and set on a foundation like that of a building, the roof with antefixes and crowned with a gem is all quite out keeping with a travelling carriage; maybe the artist has been tempted to give the Bodhisattva something worthy of him for the journey, a sort not used by ordinary mortals. There is a carriage with very strong sides on IBb 46 as well, though the top of it has disappeared.

We now come to the conveyance by water, the *ships*; for this I shall refer to an article by van Erp on the subject [1]).

The simplest vessel, the djukung, is nothing more than a hollowed-out tree trunk; this is shewn on two reliefs, Ia 115, and Ib 82, in the first scene it is being used as a ferry-boat. There it has a characteristic curved stem flattened horizontally at the top; the line of the stern is vertical, with a sloping flattening, a shape that is still seen in the Archipelago with this kind of boat. There is a projecting piece under the stern that must not be regarded as a keel, — boats like this have a more or less round bottom, not a keel — it is nothing more than a strengthening of the stern to support the pressure of the rudder. The rudder itself is the old double sort slung at the head and lashed on each side of the stern. An awning on four poles is fastened to the vessel and on the roof of this is a long pole with what seems to be a forked end (the relief is there damaged); another pronged pole is fixed in the river-bank; to this the boat is fastened with a rope. The prong might be intended to lean on while punting, but more likely it is meant to prevent the pole from getting stuck. The djukung on Ib 82 is drawn up on land and being loaded with valuables. The bow of this one is pointed, the rudder is not seen outside the stern, it has probably been pulled up because the boat is not in the water; this part of the relief is too much damaged to see distinctly. The "strengthening" can be seen here as well.

The outrigger ship can be seen on five reliefs. This type with its high stem and stern resembles the kura-kura of the Moluccas that are mentioned in the earliest descriptions of European travellers; they were built there in large size already *before* the arrival of Europeans.

[1]) Ned. Indië Oud en Nieuw 8 (1924) p. 227—255; see also Encycl. van Ned. Indië s. v. Vaartuigen, with Supplement (1923).

First the one shewn on Ib 86. The outriggers are made of a compound float, held in position by three straight and three curved booms, on the top of the float are crossrails, maybe to hold them in the sloping position or perhaps intended as seats for the crew in a strong wind to give the vessel more stability, as is still the custom at the present day. There are openwork bullwarks fore and aft made of round spars sloped upwards as if to break the force of the waves. There is a gallery built out over the stern with a sailor on it, a construction that also appears at Ajaṇṭā, used by the crew when cargo fills up the boat as well as for working and storing the anchors. At stem and stern we see the wings with the peculiar "eyes" under them, the one possibly as symbol of speed, the other keeping watch over the water — these are also found at Ajaṇṭā and are quite common in the Archipelago on the kura-kura's in the East corner of Java, the prahu's at Batavia, the Chinese junks etc. The rudder is placed on one side of the stern, perhaps there was another at the other side. A deck-house with an awning is between the two masts; the front mast is the largest, both consist of two spars raked forward, rigged by ropes fore and aft; on other reliefs shewing outrigger ships it can be seen that the masts have rungs for going aloft. The top of the mast where the two points join and where the ropes run through, is bent back and has a tuft-shaped ornament that resembles the bundles of coloured string or fibre on the pĕdukawangs of Macassar. Both masts have a square-sail, at the bow is another sail, something like the "blinde" on old Dutch vessels; it seems to be three-cornered, fastened at the top to the washstrake with one brace to the bowsprit and the other on the portside.

After this detailed description, the other outrigger ships may be treated concisely. On Ib 88 they are rowing, the six oars can be seen, the rowers are evidently 'tween decks. The wings are only visible in front where the washstrake has a curious buffer; the second mast seems to be a single spar; the tops of the masts are ornamented with carving[2]). In Ib 108 there is a small boat in front of the big vessel, probably meant for landing the passengers and crew.

The outrigger of the large ship has four pairs of booms, while the top of the float to which some one is holding, is single; besides the oars some of the

[1]) Mookerji, A history of Indian shipping and maritime activity from the earliest times (1912) p. 39; Warington Smith, Boats and Boatbuilding in the Malay peninsula, Journ. Soc. of Arts 1902 p. 572 sq.

[2]) On this same relief a round figure drawn by Wilsen on the poop, caused Mookerji to think there was a compass on board (l.l. p. 47). This round object however proves to be the remains of a human figure. The poop was the best place for working the anchors and hauling in the rudder-blades.

rowers' heads can be seen. At the foremast the coupling block of the two spars with the holes for the ropes is quite distinct. Notice the flags at bow and stern and the pennant in the top of the larger mast, it shews the direction of the wind, the same as the puffed-out sails. The sail at the bow, fastened on two yards, is square and required two bowsprits, at the end of the one in sight sits a sailor holding one of the braces; here is also some circular object with a sort of rosette not yet identified. The little boat looks very like the djukungs but has a higher deck; the ship is one-masted, with a square sail, and sailors are holding the braces attached to the end of the yards. The "eyes" can be seen too on the bow of the vessel.

We get a smaller outrigger ship on Ib 53, without a deckhouse and with not such elaborate washstrakes; they are made of single curved booms and a double latticed floating. The wings and eyes are very distinct; there is a man at the helm. Notice the rowlocks, the railing leaning inwards, the bamboo washstrakes at bow and stern and the gratings fixed on them. The masts consist of two poles and the rungs can be seen; there is an ornament like a four-leaved clover in front of the bowsprit, the same sort of object which appeared on the preceding relief. The sailors are taking in sails, the one at the bow has evidently been taken down. The last of the outrigger ships is on II 41, a one-masted ship, the deck house very distinct; oars and heads of the rowers here also to be seen, the position of the head shews that the rowing is done by pushing not pulling. The coupling of the mast has a cushion shaped block on it; something different are the short derricks or round poles on the deck fore and aft, the latter with a flag on it. There is no bowsprit, perhaps there was no room for it. Here too the sails are being lowered, the washstrakes fore and aft are remarkably high on this boat.

Finally we get three vessels, strong enough to do without outriggers; they are something like the djanggolan's of East Java, e.g. in the row of small blocks (or beam heads?) on the outside. The line of the bow is sloping, the stern vertical, the same as in the djukungs; they are all one-masted and the mast is not compound. The rudder is not shewn. On Ib 23 part of the crew are hoisting or lowering the sails on the mast, others are fishing. Below the blocks is some circular decoration. The ship on IB a 54 is very much damaged, it has one mast and a bellying square sail with a sailor sitting on its lower yard. The vessel on IBa 193, where a drowning man is being hauled on board, seems to be a little different to the others, there is evidently a gallery built out over the stern, on which a man is standing who might be the helmsman. The bow also seems to have

a gallery, the beam heads are missing. The mast has a square sail, is raked forward and rigged fore and aft.

Mr. van Erp concludes in his review that evidently the largest kind of seaboats were built with outriggers and these were principally used for traffic. In contrast to Hornell's [1]) view that the winged vessels on Barabuḍur represent a local Javanese type, he considers these vessels in general have a Hindu character, but the compound masts shew Indonesian influence, perhaps to be traced to Moṇgolian origin.

Taking all together the boats on Barabuḍur offer a notable contribution to our knowledge of the shipping of those times, the more valuable because the larger-sized outrigger vessels with rowlocks and high-sloping stem and stern have not survived in the present day Archipelago.

We shall now see what Barabuḍur has to shew us about the *religious observances* in Hindu-Javanese life, such as belong to homage, public-worship and that kind of thing. Passing over the homage-paying to stūpa's, we need not be surprised at there being so few data to be gathered. The following of the Five or the Ten Commandments was all that was required from the believer, he might give further proof of his devotion by respectful homage, preferably offerings of flowers, at stūpa's or other sanctuaries; but church-services or officiating priests did not exist. Tantristic practices such as will be described in the last chapter, must have been in use in the Java of those days, but they are essentially the opposite of public worship. Çivaism too exacted chiefly from the believer only the paying of homage to the temple-gods, that is if we may consider the conditions in Middle Java to be the same as those in the Majapahit-kingdom. In the Nāgarakṛtāgama when king Hayam Wuruk visits Buddhist or Çivaistic temples he does nothing more than pay homage to the god of the sanctuary; even in the elaborate description of a religious solemnity like the Çrāddha of 1362 we are struck by the casual manner in which the priestly ceremonies are treated in comparison with the other festivities that appear to be of a very worldly character.

What we see on Barabuḍur is quite in keeping with this. On relief Ia 35 we find what would be Siddhārtha's homage to the gods but, as the story tells, it is they who spring from their pedestals and do honour to the future Buddha. Other instances of sacred buildings being visited by worshippers shew only how they approach with every sign of respect,

[1]) Indian boat designs, Mem. As. Soc. Beng. VII, 3 (1920) p. 218—221; he considers the single outrigger of Polynesian and the double of Malay-Indonesian origin.

their hands often folded in sêmbah, bringing gifts of incense, flowers and wreaths. One that is identified by its inscription, is O 124, the *caitya-vandana* and others are the same; flower-offerings are brought on O 29 and 152, incense is being burnt as well on IBb 106 and IV B 14. There is a woman performing her devotions inside a building on Ib 27; she lays flowers on an altar next to which stands an incense-burner. Honour and homage to sacred buildings it may be remembered take up a large part of the chief wall on the third gallery, reliefs 4—7 and in particular the whole series that begins with 20, where all sorts of curious temples are being visited. Although these temples are not supposed to be found on this earth, their worship should be mentioned, but they seem not very much like the ordinary human structure.

Homage-paying to a stūpa is of course a typical Buddhist ceremony; it takes up such an important place in the sacred literature that it is only natural it should so often appear on the Barabuḍur reliefs. As regards the form of the stūpa, the reader must consult the architectural part of this work, I shall describe only the way in which homage was paid. In most cases it is just the same as for other sacred buildings, sĕmbah's with incense, flowers and wreaths, occasionally with fruit as well. See Ib 85, 120, IIB 43, II 45, 96, 98 IVB 7, 33. On Ib 83 we find there is music added, not without reason, for the text [1]) speaks of a special feast that was connected with the erection of the stūpa; IBa 115 as we know shews a brahman sprinkling holy water with his aspergillum.

When describing the series of reliefs on the bottom row of the first balustrade, I called attention to the number of those shewing stūpa-homage and the many different ways in which it was performed [2]). For the details I refer the reader to that description; we must now notice that besides the variations — again with music on IBb 66 and 90, filled-up dishes (?) on 60, round objects (perhaps cakes?) on 62 —, the greater number still keep to the usual manner of doing it with incense and flowers (26, 54, 69, 102, 109, 118, while 73 and 112 are damaged).

A small kind of stūpa on IBa 366 is being sprinkled with water from a flowervase with a spout, a still smaller one on IBa 274 honoured with incense and sĕmbah. These small stūpa's we expect may contain the ashes of the dead [3]); and it would appear from IBa 244 and 325 that urns were also used for this purpose, but on comparing these with IBa 272, it seems that the vessel so much like an urn with a lid, is really an open dish with

[1]) Compare Vol. I pag. 284 and 297.

[2]) See I pag. 447.

[3]) The ordinary graveyard, the çmaçāna of the texts, is also to be seen, on O 4.

something ballshaped on it. The miniature stūpa's on IBb 13 do not apparently receive any homage; perhaps these are the small stūpa's that, as we know from the texts, were made because their manufacture conferred benefits on the maker; such little stūpa's have actually been dug up in Java. Also worthy of notice is the curious, very much damaged altar with an urn or whatever it may be, on IBa 233b. There is an altar with fire on IIB 85 apparently being worshipped; this is the only instance, but the same kind of altar can be seen at an adjuration on Ib 3; ready for the selfsacrificing Bodhisattva to immolate himself, at the court on Ib 59, where it is erected for this special reason according to the text, and finally with the hermits on IBa 25 and IIB 60. It is always a square pedestal with blocks of wood on it and a big flame.

Connected with stūpa-homage in so far that its object was the same, being one of the means of acquiring special merit, is the distribution of valuables, money, garments and food to the needy. The scenes are not specially striking; the chief person himself distributes from the trays and dishes held by his servants, or the distribution is done by them under his supervision. Instances of this will be found on O 11, 26, 70—73, 100, 102, 103, Ia 19, 22, 23, 29, Ib 20, 31, 32, 64, IBa 202, 210, 218, IIB 27, 45, II 93, III 44, 70, IIIB 76 and following, IVB 8—12, 19, IV 19, 44, 52.

At the first glance we might think that *music* was a favorite pastime among the Hindu-Javanese, it is so often depicted on the reliefs. But we change our opinion on closer examination. In many of the scenes the music is nothing more than an accompaniment, generally to the dancing; when that is not the case, then the performers are nearly always heavenly beings and although this divine music is of course only a repetition of the earthly orchestra, it will not be mere chance that so very few concerts take place in this world. Music does not seem to have played a very important part in Hindu-Javanese society [1]).

Let us first take the music given by itself, not as an accompaniment. There are to begin with a few instances in the pictures of desa-life. On O 117 a man is playing on the suling (flute); another next to him has no music. But on O 39 in the righthand scene there are some street-musicians who evidently belong together. One of them has an instrument in his hand that looks like an oblong wooden frame with small

[1]) For Javanese music in general, see Brandts Buys. Praeadv. Congr. Jav. Inst. te Bandoeng, 1921, p. 76—81 (comp. Grandidier, Madagascar IV, 1908, p. 66).

staves of metal across it that are struck with a stick. The other holds up an object not easily described, it seems a sort of flat cymbal with three little rods, that have knobs at the end of them, lying on it. It is not being played, so possibly it may not be a musical instrument. The head only of a third man can be seen. There is another group like this on O 48, a man who most distinctly has the same oblong instrument just-mentioned, a second holding something quite unrecognisable under his left arm and a third who again shews nothing but his head.

As for the music among the higher classes, we shall begin with the heavenly sort of which there are so many more examples. The first scene on the first gallery begins with a full orchestra for the benefit of the future Buddha in the Tuṣita heaven. It consists of wind, string and thump instruments. These last are represented by cymbals and drums. Drums are numerous of both sorts, that were also common in India and need not here be described; the cylinder shaped sort, and the tub shaped thicker in the middle; the first is carried round the neck and beaten with the hand or a drumstick, the second is always of a large size and stands on the ground, it is only beaten with the hand, but it is also seen in smaller size carried round the neck. We know that only the barrel shaped one, the kĕndang, remains in use in Java at the present day[1]). The only wind instrument is the german flute; now-a-days this is not found in ordinary use, but only with the soldiers at the court of the princes. There are several kinds of string instruments, unfortunately this part of the relief is rather damaged; what we see in the first place is a kind of stick with a round soundboard at the side of one end, such an instrument can hardly be anything but a monochord; then there are some like lutes, the ancient viṇā, with three and with four strings[2]) which can be seen by the number of screws for regulating the strings in the same way as our violins etc. All these instruments are played with the fingers. A sort of cither semicircular in shape is very indistinct, it can only be identified with the help of another relief (the only other one where this instrument is shewn, Ia 52).

These same instruments will be found in the hands of heavenly musicians on other reliefs, sometimes with a pair of little bell-shaped chelimbi that are held one in each hand and belong specially to dance music.

[1]) For these drums compare also Sachs, Die Musikinstrumente Indiens und Indonesiens (1915) p. 68 and 74, and for Indian instruments Day, Music and musical instruments of Southern India (1891) and Gupte in Ind. Ant. 55 (1926) p. 41—43.

[2]) Perhaps this type of lute, especially with three strings, was imported from Further India; see Kunst in Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. 65 (1925) p. 465 foll.

Among the drums sometimes there are some that go narrow in the middle into a sort of hour-glass shape and some that look like a round-bellied pot with its mouth covered over with drum-skin.

Orchestras of this kind, more or less complete, are shewn on II 1, 55, 105, 128, IV 10, 37. On the last-mentioned and on II 1, there is also some one blowing on a conch-shell, as is very likely the case in other scenes, but we are not always able to see exactly what the instrument is they are holding with both hands. It can certainly be identified in the procession [1]) on Ib 70 and by comparison with this, probably also on III 50. A remarkable scene is that on IV 7; on one side of the Buddha seated in the middle, there is an orchestra like the one above described, in which a new instrument appears, a bell hung on a curved stick and played on with a stick; on the other side sits a Bodhisattva with a conch-shell, some persons blowing large and small trumpets and one beating with his hand a very small drum of the hour-glass shape. A bell, this time held in the hand, is being played by one of the gandharva's who miraculously appear on III B 40; there is a curious combination of two instruments, the chelimbi and a lute very long and narrow in shape, to be found on O 102. An extraordinary kind of wishing-tree, shewn on IVB 75, besides bells and flutes bears quite a number of drums.

Kinnara's are often represented playing on the flute and often holding the instrument that we have just supposed to be a monochord. The way in which this same object appears among the attendants in scenes on earth where there is no question of music (see O 143, 157, IBb 65) might incline us to think it must there be something else; but it is quite certain, as the reliefs still to be discussed will prove, that this monochord instrument was also used at earthly concerts, quite apart from the question whether an object of this shape should be identified *everywhere* as a musical instrument. Among the scenes in the human world O 131 deserves special notice with its large bell hanging on a beam supported by two pillars. Then on Ia 52 there is the music being performed before the future Buddha in the women's apartment; we can recognise lute and cither, flute and chelimbi. On O 125 music is going on for the benefit of an eminent man possibly at the dinner-table, the dishes being brought in look very much like food. Here there are two instruments, both very distinct, a monochord and a lute, this time three-

[1]) Still five centuries later, conch-shells and drums were in use at a ceremonial procession for Hayam Wuruk, according to Nāgarakṛtāgama 84 : 2.

[2]) In Further India a similar sort of instrument was known, but with two sounding-boards. This is illustrated in Le Bayon d'Angkor Thom I (1910) pl. 120. (gal. intér. face Nord aile Est) and 135 (id. face Est aile Nord).

stringed. Twice, a band plays at a stūpa-hòmage; drums and cymbals on Ib 83, drums and flute on IBb 66. These two last instruments with a monochord make up the orchestra on IVB 42, where the attitude of one of the drummers and the man next to him shew the possibility that the music may be only an accompaniment. Drums and cymbals are the chosen instruments for festive processions, see IBa 266, IBb 30, III 50 [1]), also announcements and proclamations are made with beating of drums, see O 1, IBa 42, IIB 53. A hammer shaped drumstick can be seen in use several times.

As accompaniment the music is used chiefly for the dance; everywhere dancing is depicted we find musicians, with the exception of the instance mentioned here above [2]), the sword-dance on O 5; even the impromptue dance of the intoxicated persons on O 20 takes place to an accompaniment of drum and monochord. O 39, left, brings us again to the desa; two men stand blowing an instrument that consists of a gourd with three flat pipes fitted into it, evidently the mouth-organ still used in Borneo and elsewhere [3]). A third man with the same kind of instrument has begun to dance; on the ground we see the cymbal (above-mentioned [4]) with the rods that terminate in a knob, as well as a globe-shaped object that has a semi-circular opening, which I am not able to identify. The mouth-organ appears again on O 53, with a flat lengthening piece sticking out under the musician's arm.

The music that accompanies some men dancing on IBa 152 is very indistinct, only the drum and flute are distinguishable. In the same scene a wrestling-match is going on, the music maybe does for both, as we see on O 52 that drum and cymbals are being played at an acrobatic performance. IBb 89 deserves special attention; there is a dance going on, performed by men, to the sound of three instruments. One of these is the gambang so important in connection with the later gamēlan, a wooden stand on legs with broad sounding staves on it, played with two sticks, the points of which are wound round [5]); the second is a bell on a curved stand played on with a rod; the third, also beaten on with two sticks, that have thick ends, looks like two gongs one above the other or perhaps one gong on a stand. In this way we have here before us the still

[1]) Here probably with monochord and a wind-instrument.

[2]) See p. 209.

[3]) Brandts Buys, Praeadv. p. 77; in Borneo the instrument is called klèdi. Variations are known in Siam, Laos, Tonkin, and in China and Japan.

[4]) See p. 241.

[5]) On the evidence of these two pieces we must prefer to consider this a gambang rather than a saron. Comp. Djawa 3 (1923) p. 28, where this instrument is called *calung-gambang*.

very primitive gamĕlan; this relief giving data for the original form of the later Javanese orchestra may I think prove of real importance for the history of music in Java. A parallel to the gambang is probably to be found on another much later relief, i.e. on the pĕndåpå-terrace of Panataran [1]) dated in A.D. 1375. At any rate this gamĕlan is not of much importance in the Barabuḍur-period and what the reliefs shew us about it, quite agrees with the Chinese report at a somewhat later date, that the principal music instruments in Java were the (german) flute, drum and "wooden boards"; by the last may be meant wooden cymbals or some other kind of instrument [2]).

The numerous scenes in which dancing girls are performing, are very similar and in no way remarkable. The dancer (sometimes there are several together) is often placed on a platform in the well-known dancing attitudes, she is richly-dressed, wearing the slendang which she frequently holds with her hand, and has a wreath or diadem-shaped headdress. The music consists always of drums, mostly the pot-shaped ones; occasionally these are the only accompaniment, but sometimes the tub-shaped and once the hour-glass sort are to be seen as well as flute and cymbals. There are generally more women present, probably other dancing girls, with chelimbi and often there is also a man in brahman dress who seems to be beating time with his hands; in some cases he also has the chelimbi. These dancing reliefs are: O 72, 149, Ia 95, Ib 19, IBa 45—46, 233, 300, 318, IBb 1, 43, 51, IIB 44, III 65.

As far as we are able to judge there are no religious dances among them, they appear to be performed for the amusement of eminent persons [3]). There is one relief shewing the *game of backgammon*, this is IBb 80; it is fully discussed in the description of that relief [4]).

I shall restrict my review to these main points. It may be sufficient to give an idea of the wealth of material the Barabuḍur reliefs possess for the study of details and at the same time how little we really know which points among what we see before us, are those that should form the data for further investigation and which are of minor importance. For this reason I have refrained from mentioning all kinds of particulars and

[1]) Illustrated by Van Kinsbergen, no. 322 and 323 of the large series. Comp. Van Stein Callenfels in Not. Bat. Gen. 1919 p. 191—193; Brandts Buys in Djawa 2 (1922) p. 34—40, Kunst ibid. p. 136.

[2]) Groeneveldt, Notes p. 17. According to Kunst (l.l. p. 126) this is meant to be the gambang.

[3]) Stutterheim, Rāma-legenden p. 153, remarks that they may still have some religious origin.

[4]) See Vol I pag. 449 and 461.

given only the general outlines. Leemans treats the matter differently as will be seen on referring to pag. 562—652 of his monograph, where all the minute details found on the reliefs — or rather all those that appear on Wilsen's drawings, which is not at all the same thing — are carefully enumerated. I have thought it better to avoid crowding out the general view with too much detail and in a work of this kind I consider a comprehensive review will be more to the purpose, anticipating that future research will be able to give the data gathered from Barabuḍur their right value for our knowledge of the Hindu-Javanese community.

CHAPTER XII

THE BARABUḌUR PANTHEON

Before collecting from the various relief-series the data for the form of Buddhism represented on this monument, it will be advisable to take a review of the various divine, semi-divine and super-divine beings who are depicted in its sculptures. By so doing an important part of the material for our next examination will become clear, and ready for systematic arrangement; at the same time the particular details that Barabuḍur can contribute to our knowledge of Buddhist iconography will be most effective in a review of this kind.

Let us begin as is only fitting, with the figure of Buddha. Besides the Dhyāni-Buddha's on and round the monument, discussed in a preceding chapter, we find the Buddha on no less than 164 reliefs, the numbers of which are as follows: Ia 4, 69—91, 92—120; IBa 17, 18, 28, 235, 239, 243, 252, 256, 264, 303, 311, 316, 320, 324, 328, 342, 343, 345, 347, 349, 353, 357, 362; II 1, 3—13, 15, 32, 74—76, 78, 81, 94, 113; III 14, 45, 51, 55, 58; III B 47, 50, 55; IVB 34, 46, 54, 55, 62, 64, 70, 72, 77, 80, 83, 84; IV 1—18, 20—23, 26, 40, 47, 50, 53, 54, 56—59, 61, 62, 65, 67—72 [1]). A very large mumber for discussion.

As a general rule all these Buddha's are depicted in the way, such as I have described in Chapt. X, wearing the monk's garment, the head identified by the little round curls, the uṣnīṣa like a protuberance of the skull on the occiput, and the ūrṇā as a small round knob on the forehead; it can be easily understood that this last mark of identification though distinct on the separate statues is often worn-away on the reliefs, so that practically the small curls and uṣnīṣa form the distinction between Buddha's and monks. On the reliefs, Buddha's always have a halo as well.

[1]) Another on IBb 16 is uncertain as the figure in question has a broken head and it is impossible to see if it wears the uṣnīṣa. The fact of there being a halo however indicates a (Pratyeka?-) Buddha.

I shall begin by stating that all the distinguishing marks of a Buddha are also given to the Pratyekabuddha's. On four of the reliefs for instance we know for certain from the texts represented that we have Pratyekabuddha's before us; when they ascend to heaven at the beginning of the Lalitavistara (Ia 4) and in a couple of the Jātakamālā-tales (IBa 17, 18 and 28). These Pratyekabuddha's are absolutely identical with the other Buddha's; in three of these four reliefs they even have the lotus-cushion that is generally (not always) given to the Buddha as seat or pedestal. As the result of this conformity it naturally follows that there may be Pratyekabuddha's among the Buddha's in other parts of the reliefs without our being able to identify them. On the other hand, the two figures in monk's dress on IV 53, as we have seen, are considered by Brandes to be Pratyekabuddha's: if his opinion is correct — though I am not able to share it [1]) — there would always be the chance of thinking the "monks" that appear in any of the tales to be really Pratyekabuddha's. Nor is flying through the air any criterion for such persons, for not only Pratyekabuddha's but any of the monks who have attained the rank of arhat can also accomplish this. As long as nothing to the contrary is proved, I believe we can be sure that a Pratyekabuddha is represented *only* as a Buddha; but even if this might be doubtful, the fact that in the one or two cases where we know *for certain* that Pratyekabuddha's are intended they exactly resemble the Buddha's, compels us to consider the possibility of their being represented in the same form in other places.

We must now endeavour to find distinctive marks among this large number of Buddha's and if possible to recognise actual types; to do this we must of course fix our attention on the details which in spite of the general likeness may exist between the various Buddha-figures. There are naturally four points to be examined for possible divergence, i.e. the manner in which the monk's garment is worn, the shape of the uṣṇīṣa, the position of the hands and possible additions not belonging directly to a Buddha-figure but in close connection with it, such as the lotuscushion, umbrella etc.

Fortunately there is an established point for us to work from; we are not left to gather up peculiarities for comparison at random. We know with absolute certainty that on the reliefs 69—120 in the top row of the chief wall of the first gallery, we see before us the "historic" Buddha Çākyamuni, whose story we can follow step by step with the help of the

[1]) See pag. 110.

Lalitavistara. By carefully studying these more than fifty Buddha-figures it may perhaps be possible to fix some special way of representing Çākyamuni, that may be used as the criterion for the Buddha's on other relief-series.

Let us first examine the dress. This part of our task is made easier by the fact that Dr. F. D. K. Bosch has already made a study of this subject with the title "Eene Onderscheiding van staande en zittende Buddha figuren op de Reliefs van de Borobudur en elders" [1]). The first result of his examination which applies not only to this series of reliefs but to the whole monument, he thus sets forth: "All the seated Buddha-images on Barabuḍur have the right shoulder bare, and all the standing ones have both shoulders covered by the garment". All Buddha's conform to this rule regarding their dress, and those that are damaged help to prove it, for on the seated ones, even when the stripe that shews the edge of the garment across the breast has become indistinct, we can often see by the right arm that no garment has been over that shoulder; and in cases where the standing figures shew nothing more of the folds round the neck, the absence of any separating line across the breast or the fold of the garment hanging round the wrist of the right hand, sufficiently indicate that the right shoulder has been covered. One exception only will be found on no. 110 where a separating edge of the garment is plainly to be seen across the breast of the standing Buddha, while the folds of the dress that hang round the right wrist here certainly shew that the right shoulder was meant to be covered. The line across the breast I can only ascribe to the sculptor's carelessness, who in this *one* instance gives this peculiarity of the seated Buddha by mistake to a standing figure. Otherwise Dr. Bosch's rule holds good everywhere.

Another special feature noted by the same writer is that in this relief-series the standing Buddha's all hold a tip of their garment with the left hand, with *one* exception (relief 82), where he has to hold some object in that hand. While of course the fact that all seated Buddha's are represented with bare and all standing ones with covered right shoulder prevents us from using this as a means of distinguishing between the various figures, Dr. Bosch [2]) considers the tip of the garment held in the left hand as a characteristic of the standing Çākyamuni, with one reservation that I shall refer to later on. In connection with these remarks he makes a noticeable statement concerning the history of the Buddha-garment in Indian art and arrives at the conclusion that the

[1]) Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. 57 (1916) p. 97—116.

[2]) See p. 103 of the article referred to.

hem in the left hand though quite in keeping with the monk's dress of the Gandhāra-art — from which of course all Buddha-types originate — is entirely out of place with the garment worn on Barabuḍur and must only be regarded as a remnant of the original Buddha figure that has been retained through all the centuries of changes and imitation.

This part of the statement, very important to the meaning of the garment-tip, I am not able to agree with. We observe that the garment-tip is held by a monk just as well as by the Buddha (II 94) and therefore does not belong exclusively to a Buddha, but much more to the monk's dress in general. Dr. Bosch sees in the fact that standing monks may have the right shoulder bare but standing Buddha's never, a proof that the monk's dress was not subject to the same rule as that of the Buddha [1]). This does not prove the case to my mind. It is well known that uncovering the right shoulder was a token of respect. That is why, as a matter of course it seems to me, in the relief Ia 119 referred to by Dr. Bosch as an example, the monks who are pouring water over the Master have uncovered their right shoulder for that act of ceremony [2]). In contrast to this, Buddha, the most exalted being that exists on earth, has no cause ever to shew respect to another person in this way. People in the monk's garment stand and walk about generally with the right shoulder covered, this is most clearly proved by the places in the texts where the shoulder always has to be bared as a sign of respect, which shews that it was covered; thus most of the Barabuḍur monks, either standing or walking, have both shoulders covered. It is quite evident that when the hem of a garment could be thrown over the shoulder or not at will, it was very likely to be worn over the shoulder when walking or standing, so as to be out of the way instead of letting it hang or being obliged to hold it or tuck it in somewhere, while on the contrary when seated it was more comfortable to let it slip off and leave the right arm and hand quite free [3]). This to me seems the simple explanation why everyone who wore this dress, monk or Buddha, on the island of Java or beyond Java [4]), covered his shoulder when walking — except when bound to uncover it as a sign of respect — and when seated, if he required to use his right arm, naturally slipped the garment off his shoulder.

[1]) II. page 102 sq.

[2]) The monk in the other example mentioned IBb 72, is evidently in the company of a lady of high rank.

[3]) That monks actually often uncovered their shoulder is evident from the story in Açvaghoṣa's Sūtrālaṅkāra no. 11 (ed. Huber p. 66), in which it can be decided that naked monks are çramaṇa's and not nirgrantha's because their right shoulder is sunburnt.

[4]) See p. 108—110 in Dr. Bosch's paper.

In my opinion there is no reason whatever to imagine that the sculptors should have treated the monk's garment in any other way than that of the Buddha.

If therefore the garment of the Buddha is not meant to have any more signification than the usual monk's dress, it follows of course that any chance of confusion, or imitation of unknown tradition is very slight. The Barabuḍur sculptors must have had the monk's dress before their eyes every day and been familiar with its details as to the manner of having the right shoulder bare or covered, just in the same way as the begging-monks in Further India or Ceylon can be seen at the present day. I am convinced that the garment of the Buddha's on the Barabuḍur is nothing else but what Dr. Bosch thinks impossible, a more or less faithful copy of the kind of dress worn by Buddhist monks in Java about a thousand years ago [1]).

The arguments that must prove this impossibility are three, as follows: first the garment of the seated and the standing Buddha figures would not be the same kind, secondly the tip held in the right hand could not be accounted for in the shape of the monk's frock we learn to know on the reliefs, and thirdly the hem of the garment that hangs over the left shoulder [2]) on some of the figures would also become unexplainable. These three points are closely connected and all three depend on the way in which Dr. Bosch explains the upper garment of the Barabuḍur Buddha's. There can be no difference of opinion about the undergarment, the antaravāsaka; it is plainly to be seen on Ia 68, where Çākyamuni is about to put on the upper garment; it there appears, as the text leads us to expect, like a skirt wound round the lower part of the body. There seems to be some confusion in the text about the two upper garments, the uttarāsaṅga and saṅghāṭi, so that it is not at all clear in what way they differ from each other [3]). Possibly the saṅghāṭi is simply a repetition of the uttarāsaṅga [4]); however it may be, the question has no iconographical importance for on the figures there is never anything more to be seen than the hem of the undergarment and only *one* upper garment that may go by the name of either saṅghāṭi or uttarāsaṅga. As with the pre-

[1]) l.l. p. 111.

[2]) There *right* shoulder, evidently a misprint.

[3]) See the literature quoted on p. 106 of Dr. Bosch's article, also eighth chapter of the Mahāvagga, and Sp. Hardy's Eastern Monachism (1860) p. 114 sqq. Parts of the Vinaya-rules concerning the dress have now also been discovered in the Sanskrit redaction, see Finot in Journ. Asiat. 11 : 2 (1913) p. 465 sqq. Comp. Foucher A.G.B. II (1918) p. 314—316.

[4]) The opinion of Dr. Vogel, see Lulius van Goor, De Buddhistische non (1915) p. 34.

sent day bhikṣu's when we see them walking, only the hem of the undergarment appears below the *one* visible frock.

Now on Barabuḍur we see the undergarment of the standing Buddha's hangs down to the ankles parallel to the ground. The upper garment is shorter and covers the whole body except the head, neck, lower arms and hands; the top edge of it can be seen round the neck. According to Dr. Bosch "the lower edge of the upper garment hangs down into a point or flap; sometimes it is cut off straight, parallel with the hem of the undergarment. On either side there are deep slits up to the height of the hip, through which the hand and lower arm can be thrust and move freely". Elsewhere [2]) it is mentioned as being like a sort of shirt fitting rather close at the neck and hanging straight and loose down the sides of the figure, with a slit up to the height of the hip. In fact, if the monk's frock may be described in this way, the evidence is further correct, such a garment is not suitable for uncovering the shoulder unless it is first taken off, in which case both the hem held in the hand and that over the shoulder are altogether out of place.

But is there no other explanation of the Buddha-garment on Barabuḍur to be found? In my opinion there is, most certainly, and one that makes it possible to consider the garment worn standing as identical with that of the seated Buddha's and monks while at the same time the two hems are accounted for. Besides, one objection to the shirt or waistcoat theory is I think, that it would be impossible to understand why the shoulder hem if we are to consider it as a rudiment retained by tradition, is so often left out and appears again on other occasions in the same Çākymuni-series. If tradition ascribes this feature to the historic Buddha, then we ought to find it here *always*; but if there was no tradition about it, how must its appearance on some of these figures be accounted for? Nor is it clear why the garment has such a curious pointed or round shape at the lower edge.

In my opinion it is nothing but a large oblong rectangular piece of stuff, just what the upper garment is described to be by the texts [3]). To begin with, one end is wound round the left arm or held in the left hand, the stuff is passed in front of the body, under the right arm round the back and again over the left shoulder where the corner held in the hand can if desired be tucked in to make it all firmer. The rest of the piece, that is very wide, is now thrown over the right shoulder letting the

[1]) l.l. p. 99.

[2]) l.l. p. 112.

[3]) Length and width are as 9 to 6 according to the text; Finot l.l. p. 524.

folds hang down in front, while the two hands are kept free by pushing up the edge above the wrists. The end thrown over the right shoulder is allowed to hang down the back, or it is pulled on a little further till the last corner reaches the left shoulder. Described in this way it may seem a rather elaborate business, but on experimenting with a large sheet, the trick is soon learned.

In this way the Buddha and the monk of Barabuḍur both walking and standing may be explained. The line across the breast is not the neck of a shirt cut in the shape described, but the top edge of a piece of stuff going from the left over the right shoulder; this appears more evident by the fold in front that is quite in keeping with the piece thrown over, but unaccountable in a shirt of that sort. The garment is pushed up on both sides of the wrist and the lower edge naturally hangs down again but there is no sign of a slit or a notch made in it. Also the natural result of taking up the garment at both sides, is that a flap (either round or pointed) hangs down back and front. The tip in the left hand is the key to the whole drapery, it can be tucked in, or when everything is folded round firmly it can be left loose, but in the movement of walking it is better to keep hold of it. Finally the corner on the left shoulder is the other end of the garment which can hang behind at the back or be brought on to that shoulder; it can therefore sometimes be seen in front and sometimes not. It may be said that it would be easy enough to see from the back how it is all fixed up, but unfortunately not one of these Buddha's turns his back to the spectator.

If the right shoulder is to be uncovered, it is easy enough. The piece of the drapery that goes across the breast over the right shoulder (with or without the corner that comes from behind over the left shoulder), needs only to be pushed off and folded *under* the right arm instead of *over* it. The end can be left hanging — especially when seated — or it can be tucked in at the back in the first folds, or again left hanging at the back or brought round on to the left shoulder as before. This explains why with seated Buddha's and monks with bare right shoulder, the end over the left shoulder can sometimes be seen (plainly for ins. on Ia 93) and sometimes not. In the first instance the end, instead of being left to hang in a point, can be folded flat so as to cover the shoulder altogether, which makes something that looks at first sight like a shoulder cape[1]); this is to be seen frequently in the beginning of the second gallery from 8 to 15. This then is nothing new or extraordinary, mere-

[1]) The possibility of a loose cloth carried on the shoulder is recommended by a notition in I-tsing's Record, p. 111; however on Barabuḍur it seems to be part of the garment.

ly the folded shape of what is elsewhere the corner hanging over the shoulder. As regards further the tip held when standing in the left hand, after being first wound round the arm or not, this can of course when seated also either be left loose altogether or allowed to hang round the lower part of the arm. It is not necessary that it should continually be held in the hand. We can see on the reliefs either nothing, or a corner wound round the lower arm.

In the above way, it seems to me, all the variations in the garment of Buddha's and monks can be explained in a simple and natural manner and it is unnecessary to seek after any theory of vague rudiments of dress, merely on the strenght of tradition. I have given rather more attention to this subject, because of course the clothing of the Buddha is in itself a matter of importance; we must now return to the data that may be gathered from this examination for distinguishing between the various Buddha's. We have seen that Çākyamuni standing, has always the right shoulder covered and the tip of his garment in the left hand, with the end over the left shoulder visible or not; we find him when seated always with the right shoulder uncovered, and again the end over the left shoulder visible or not, never with the hem held in the left hand but here and there with the end wound round the lower arm [1]). The right shoulder being covered on the standing and bare on seated figures of the Buddha is the same all over Barabuḍur as we have noted already and is therefore no distinctive mark; the only thing that might identify the Buddha, — in so far I can agree with Dr. Bosch — is the tip of the garment held in the left hand. This hem to which Dr. Bosch attaches great importance as being intentionally preserved by tradition, to him remains an inexplicable detail with the clothing worn on the monument; it seems to me to be a quite ordinary and natural peculiarity of the monk's dress to which in a general way no particular importance can be attached. If it has any value as a mark of identification for Çākyamuni will appear on comparison with other relief-series; I shall here merely note that at any rate if it identifies Çākyamuni it is only in the standing figures and therefore only partly fulfils its task, especially because there was nothing to prevent the seated Çākyamuni's from being given a similar corner to hold.

This ends the discussion about the clothing. The other points for examination mentioned above can be treated more concisely.

If we examine first the uṣṇīṣa we see at once that it is by no means

[1]) The wound tip must of course not be confused with the edge of the garment itself that always hangs round the wrist.

consistent, but shews the greatest variation with this same Çākyamuni. Sometimes it is not quite distinct, but there are instances enough where doubt is impossible. Sometimes it has the shape of a simple, rather low dome, as on 76; generally the uṣṇīṣa ends in a kind of knob, rather small as on 86, or of somewhat different shape, 71, or rather larger, something like a gem as on 91, or even quite twisted as on 94. This protuberance is made very high on 95, but with a point on 104, 108 and 112. The last-mentioned is rather worn-off; but the two others shew the point very plainly, and curiously enough it has the shape of a tongue of flame. I have here mentioned only the most-striking instances; there are all kinds of variations in between. On comparing these reliefs with the Lalitavistara we can be quite sure that the text followed did not in any way prescribe such variations in the uṣṇīṣa — on the contrary we should think there was every reason for safe-guarding the appearance of the hero of the story. I do not believe that any particular or mysterious reason need be sought for to account for these variations, and consider they are merely due to the imagination of the sculptors, who as I have frequently demonstrated, were allowed, what seems to us an unaccountable liberty with regard to details. Just as a chair that is expressly stated in the text to remain the same, looks quite different on two consecutive reliefs, and like the same person who in two pictures of the same episode in his story is given two different headdresses, so is it I think with the Buddha's; the sculptor of such a relief knew of course that he was to depict a Buddha in a certain place and a Buddha of course must be characterised by the monk's garment, the uṣṇīṣa and the small curls, but how these were represented exactly did not matter. This is the reason of the fanciful variations in the uṣṇīṣa's. It need hardly be mentioned that the curls are of all sizes, though they do remain as prescribed, always turned to the right. However it may be, whether the variations in the uṣṇīṣa may correctly be ascribed to the sculptor's fancy or that the protuberance on the crown of the head was intentionally represented in some special way on each separate relief, in any case, our conclusion must be that there is no particular style of uṣṇīṣa that identifies Çākyamuni; so there is no question of any distinctive mark of that kind for this Buddha.

The same applies to the various objects used by Çākyamuni or placed near him. He is generally represented sitting or standing on a lotus-cushion of the familiar double sort, but sometimes it may be single (86, 87) and often it is omitted altogether (77, 78, 81—85, 109). The little mat on 94 we must probably consider as the spread-out grass

of the Bodhi-seat, 114 shews an ordinary cushion. We have seen in the description of these reliefs that the Buddha further makes use of all kinds of different seats, thrones and other chairs, even sometimes the rocky ground; in the same way various sorts of trees spread themselves over his head, for even in depicting the Bodhi-tree there is no attempt made at consistency. Sometimes worshippers are kneeling with incense-burners and many other marks of homage, but there is never a sign of any attribute that appears more or less regularly as specially belonging to Çākyamuni. In particular the umbrella may be noticed, as entirely missing on most of the reliefs, but sometimes set up next to the Buddha or near to (81, 99, 101, 109, 112), often carried behind him (82, 91, 100, 102, 110, 111, 113, 114, 116, 119), or hovering over his head (106—108, 120). Once or twice the back of the Buddha's seat ends in a triangle surrounded by flames (93, 103), and once (118) he is entirely surrounded by a ring of flames. The never-omitted halo, prabhāmaṇḍala, is larger or smaller in size and varies in shape, being more or less round or oblong. In no respect whatever is anything to be found in the Buddha's surroundings that recurs regularly and can serve as a means of identification.

We must now consider the mudrā's. On one relief (82) Çākyamuni, as the text prescribes, holds a garment in his hand, then a few times his alms-bowl, but in the rest of the scenes his hands are empty except for the tip of his garment in the standing figures. As well as the traditional mudrā's, we find all sorts of attitudes suitable to anyone preaching, arguing, meditating and speaking, among them five of the six positions ascribed to the Dhyāni-Buddha's in a preceding chapter and therefore certainly not belonging exclusively to Çākyamuni. The one entirely omitted is the dharmacakra-mudrā; this is extraordinary as regards the last relief that represents the very famous first preaching at Benares [1]), the preaching that elsewhere, in Java as well, is specially characterised by the dharmacakra-mudrā of the chief person. We do not know what is the reason for this peculiarity, but none would presume to take this as a proof that a distinctive mark of Çākyamuni on the Barabuḍur is that he *never* assumes this mudrā, so that as everywhere else in this series he appears with hands in all kinds of attitudes, we are to conclude that the Buddha's seated in dharmacakra-mudrā on other parts of the monument are on no account to be identified as Çākyamuni. The folly of such a conclusion becomes evident when we consider how the very fact that Çākyamuni set the wheel of the Law in motion, has revealed the

[1]) See Vol. I p. 228.

Creed of Salvation to the present world; therefore to him above all the dharmacakra-mudrā belongs. The art of all India proves this and it is plainly to be seen in the neighbouring sanctuary of Mĕndut [1]).

The result of our examination of the reliefs that represent Çākyamuni's story is: that neither the objects placed near the Buddha, nor the position of the hands, nor the dress, furnish us with any data for identifying this Buddha; there is only the tip of the garment being held in the left hand that *might* just possibly be a distinctive mark for only the *standing* Çākyamuni.

When we look for more Buddha's, we find that the four series of avadāna's and jātaka's have very few Buddha figures; with the exception of the already mentioned Pratyekabuddha's it is only in the last quarter of the top row on the balustrade of the first gallery that we find, three times, an episode where a Buddha appears [2]). In the first group (235, 239, 243, 252, 256, 264) only seated Buddha's on lotuscushions are found without anything remarkable about them; in the second (303, 311, 316, 320, 324, 328) there is one standing with an almsbowl in his left hand (316) while among those seated one for certain (328) and one most probably (320) has a uṣṇīṣa with a flame at the top of it. The third group (342, 343, 345, 347, 349, 353, 357, 362) contains four seated and four standing Buddha's. Among the first, 349 shews the peculiarity of a great circle of flames round the Buddha; there is no flame on the uṣṇīṣa. The standing one on 353 is not very distinct, as regards the left hand; the one on 343 carries an almsbowl, the one on 347 has both hands empty. Between these two the figure on 345 is holding his roughly-carved, possibly very-much-worn lefthand round some unrecognisable object; it certainly is not a garment tip. The presence of attendant monks with these Buddha's shews they are real, not Pratyekabuddha's. The seated ones shew no sign of the dharmacakra-mudrā.

On the chief wall of the second gallery we find first on relief 1—15 (except 2 and 14) a series of seated Buddha's and among them, for the first time *one* in dharmacakra-mudrā (7). Some are distinguished as I have described by the flap in shoulder-cape shape formed by the corner shewing over the left shoulder, a curiosity found hardly anywhere else. One or two of them also have a pointed uṣṇīṣa, the most pronounced are on 13 and 15. The Buddha-relief no. 32 stands alone; the chief-figure is standing with an umbrella above the head (that has completely disappeared), and certainly no tip of the garment is held in the hand.

[1]) Inleiding Hindoe-Javaansche kunst (1923) I p. 318.

[2]) See Vol. I page 401.

From 74 onward we get several Buddha scenes near together. On 74 and 75 the throne on which the Buddha sits rises with its lotuscushion out of a lotus-pond; the first of these scenes shews a very pointed uṣṇīṣa with an umbrella overhead; on 75 the uṣṇīṣa is damaged but was evidently not so sharp-pointed, while the Buddha standing on 76 has one of the usual style as, also standing, has the figure on 78. Neither of the two last hold the tip of their garment. On 75, 76 and 78 an umbrella hovers above the Buddha's head; I call attention to this fact because Dr. Bosch seems to attach special importance to the combination of umbrella and pointed headdress in this gallery [1]) and from what he tells us, we might be inclined to think that all Buddha's with an umbrella have this pointed shape of head. As we have seen, this is not the case so that I think we may without hesitation consider the coincidence of umbrella and pointed uṣṇīṣa as being quite accidental. After a seated Buddha on 82 without any thing special about him, we find one standing on 94 holding his garment tip with the lefthand. On this account Dr. Bosch considers that only 94 of the standing Buddha's of this series represents Çākyamuni [2]). Not knowing the text followed I do not venture to dispute the statement directly; but it is noticeable that next to this Buddha stands a monk who is also holding a hem of his garment with the left hand, as it were to shew that this peculiarity does not belong exclusively to a Buddha or to the one Buddha. A Buddha seated on a lion-throne on 113 is the last one in this gallery; he is encircled by flames and his uṣṇīṣa also ends in a flame at the top. The combination of these two, the circle of flame and the uṣṇīṣa with a flame at the top, we find here for the first time, though already met with separately (on Çākyamuni as well); but this does not imply that any particular importance need be attached to it,

The chief wall of the third gallery only gives us five seated Buddha's (14, 45, 51, 55, 58). One of them (55) has the garment hem like a cape over the left shoulder. The uṣṇīṣa's vary, larger or smaller, particularly large on 55; none of them have a sharp point. There is nothing remarkable about any of these Buddha's or of those on the balustrade of the same gallery where they appear three times sitting on a lotus, in the tale of the miraculous apparitions called up by Maitreya (47, 50, 55). The first time they have an ordinary uṣṇīṣa, the second a pointed one; the third is too much damaged for recognition.

On these three reliefs, we get for the first time several Buddha's in the

[1]) See note on p. 101 of the often-quoted article. Dr. Bosch considers this pointed headpiece to be a headdress, not an uṣṇīṣa, an opinion I cannot share.

[2]) l.l. p. 103.

same scene just as we shall find them frequently in the fourth gallery. On the balustrade of that gallery there are only seated Buddha figures (*one* on 34, 55, 70, 72, 80, several on 46, 54, 62, 64, 83, 84). Those on 64 have the flame-topped uṣṇīṣa and flame-circle, while the one on 72 sits with only the circle of flame, but has an ordinary-shaped uṣṇīṣa, the same as those on the whole of this gallery with a small knob on it. Two of these Buddha's on 72 and 77 have their hands in dharmacakra-mudrā of which we have so-far found only one instance.

The last series of reliefs, those on the chief wall of the fourth gallery, has as noted, a great number of Buddha's and as many as seventeen on one relief. Those where only one appears (5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 15, 20—22, 26, 40, 47, 50, 57, 61, 62, 68, 70) are all seated. No. 5 and 68 wear a pointed uṣṇīṣa without a flame at the top, 8 has a circle of flame, but the face is knocked off and the uṣṇīṣa destroyed. Several of them, 11, 15, 21, 22 and 62, have the flame on the uṣṇīṣa but this flame itself varies in several ways. In connection with what was noticed in the second gallery, only two of these five have an umbrella above their head. There is a great variety of thrones and pavilions on which and within which these Buddha's are found; notice the lotusplants on 15, the high throne on 21, the lion-throne on 26. A remnant of the wide flap over the left shoulder can be seen on 57. There are three, 10, 68 and 70, who shew the dharmacakra-mudrā.

Among the many Buddha's on the same reliefs (1—4, 6, 9, 12—14, 16—18, 23, 53, 54, 56, 58, 59, 65, 67, 69, 71, 72), the dharmacakra-mudrā appears quite often and need not be always mentioned. Here too most of them are seated; the uṣṇīṣa's are the usual round sort, or with a knob at the top or pointed; among the last, several are too indistinct on the photo to be able to decide if the point ends in a flame. At any rate the flame seems to be present on 13, 14, 53 *without* and on 12 and 16 *with* the circle of flames round the whole Buddha; this circle is also to be seen on 6 and 17, where the shape of the uṣṇīṣa is not distinct and on 58, where there certainly seems to be no uṣṇīṣa with a flame. So again there are all kinds of combinations. A new variation is the quite smooth oval background on 18 as it might be a second very large halo behind the whole figure of the Buddha; maybe it is only that the flames are not worked on to it. No. 67 is another exception, where a similar oval background is edged, not with flames, but with a sort of floral ornament. Finally must be noticed the Buddha sitting in the middle of a stūpa on 13.

Standing Buddha's we find on 1, 14, 54 and 71, all in scenes together with seated Buddha's; on each of these reliefs there are two standing

except on 14, where there is only one. This last figure as well as the two on 1, holds the garment tip with the left hand; one of them on 54 is evidently holding the garment, just as one of the Buddha's on 71 who is rather an indistinct figure. The Buddha's on 1, 14 and the one on 54 and 71 might therefore be Çākyamuni's — although I consider it very doubtful as long as there is nothing to prove the identity of the seated Buddha's. Besides Dr. Bosch himself has already put in a proviso [1]), that on the Nepal miniatures published by Foucher, it is the Buddha Dīpangkara who holds the garment tip with his left hand; the two miniatures that depict this Buddha, so as he was worshipped in Java, shew him with his right hand in abhaya- and vara-mudrā respectively [2]); neither of these positions are found on Barabuḍur with standing Buddha's who hold their garment tip with the left hand. For this reason Dīpangkara according to Bosch is most probably not the one meant on these reliefs which "almost certainly" represent Çākyamuni. Indian art in general characterises Dīpangkara with the abhaya-mudrā; on the other hand it is rather remarkable that such special mention is made of his worship in Java so that we are inclined to think that a place would have been given to him in the greatest Buddhist monument on this island, in the sanctuary that offered the best opportunity for honouring other Buddha's than Çākyamuni.

Taking all together it seems most reasonable to conclude that there are not sufficient data for identifying the Buddha's by means of peculiarities in the way they are depicted. In the two cases we are certain of, their identity was not established by anything particular in their appearance; Çākyamuni has been recognised on the chief wall of the first gallery only because various episodes of his life were found there, and the Buddha's in the niches we know to be Dhyāni-Buddha's simply because the whole system here followed coincides with the one already known of Nepal.

There is possibly another way of recognising some of the Buddha's on the fourth gallery, those eight who are attended on by two Bodhisattva's. They are found on the reliefs 6, 8, 12, 17 (twice), 20, 47, 50. Unfortunately so many of the Bodhisattva's are indistinct to such a degree that it is impossible to identify them, let alone find anything in their personal details that might help as regards the Buddha they are escorting. Those on 6 and one of the group on 17 must be put aside at once as these Bodhisattva figures are too much damaged or worn away to

[1]) l.l. page 103 sq.

[2]) Etude sur l'iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde I (1900) p. 79.

be of any use; a curious position of the hands remains on 6, a kind of vara-mudrā with the third finger bent inwards, but this cannot be relied on where all other attributes are missing. The only really distinct one is 8; here the Buddha has on his right hand Avalokiteçvara, on his left Vajrapāṇi. I shall return later on to these figures when discussing the Bodhisattva's and here merely note their presence. Very likely these same two appear on 12 and the second group on 17; Vajrapāṇi can be easily recognised on both, but Avalokiteçvara's headdress is too much damaged for us to see if his emblem, the Amitābha-image, was there. On 47 it is just the other way; there Avalokiteçvara is undoubtedly present, but the object on top of the blue lotus held by the other Bodhisattva is too battered for us to make sure it is a vajra and identify him as Vajrapāṇi. We find Avalokiteçvara certainly again on 50, the other figure has nothing left but a broken stalk but it still looks as if the stem had belonged to an utpala, on which probably something was placed. In both instances what is left of the emblem may have been part of a vajra. The result is so far that the Bodhisattva on the Buddha's right-hand seems to be Avalokiteçvara, wherever he can be identified, and the one on the other side is, or may be, Vajrapāṇi [1]). But we find an exception on 20 as regards the leftside Bodhisattva; the right hand one is Avalokiteçvara, but the one on the left has only the blue lotus without anything on it. Unless this is an instance of the sculptor's carelessness in omitting the vajra, we must wonder which Bodhisattva is here meant. The choice falls naturally on Mañjuçrī who is distinguished in the Buddhist art of India by the utpala [2]); just as on Barabuḍur he there often has a book on the lotus but this is not insisted on, so the utpala may in this case be sufficient; even if we do not feel sure about the identification it must be allowed that no other Bodhisattva is *more* likely to be meant here than Mañjuçrī.

According to one of the just-mentioned miniatures [3]) it is on Java that the Buddha Dīpangkara is placed between Avalokiteçvara and Mañjuçrī. This is not quite convincing for in the illustration mentioned, Mañjuçrī is on the right and Avalokiteçvara left, while on the monument it is the other way about. On the contrary the Buddha between Avalokiteçvara and Vajrapāṇi may certainly be Çākyamuni, as we can learn

[1]) With this combination compare also the three caitya's at Vieng Sa, dedicated to Padmapāṇi, Buddha and Vajrapāṇi, see Coedès, Bull. Ec. fr. d'Extr. Or. 18, 6 p. 31. In China and Japan on the contrary the Buddha is placed between Samantabhadra and Mañjuçrī; De Visser Arhats, p. 43, 53 foll., 137, 139, 159, 167.

[2]) Foucher l.l. pag. 119.

[3]) Ibid. p. 79.

from a place in the Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan[1]), where it plainly mentions Avalokiteçvara on Çākyamuni's righthand, Vajrapāṇi on his left. Even here unfortunately there is still room for doubt, for the text on the one side ascribes to them a position of the hands, dhyāna- and bhūḥsparça-mudrā respectively, that does not agree with the monument, and on the other side we find from the miniatures, that in Ceylon Dīpangkara is actually represented between these two Bodhisattva's. The doubt thus is justified and if we decide to suppose the *possibility* that the Buddha on 20 (and perhaps 50) may be Dīpangkara and the Buddha's in the other instances here discussed, Çākyamuni, it will not be because I am personally of this opinion, but only because in the midst of all our darkness the least spark of light must be kept alive.

As regards the representation of several Buddha's together, it may be useful to draw attention to the fact that in the old Chinese art of the cave-temples, two Buddha's seated side by side are always Çākyamuni and Prabhūtaratna[2]).

We will now turn to the Bodhisattva's[3]). As already noted, their dress is always shewn the same as that of the gods, the usual dress of ceremony, the result of which is that unless some distinctive attributes are found as well, it is not possible to distinguish a Bodhisattva from a god or even in the cases where the halo is missing and the Bodhisattva not placed on a lotuscushion, from an earthly king. This we have noticed already on various reliefs in the story of Çākyamuni's life, where more than once (as on Ia 11, 12, 93) according to the text Bodhisattva's were present, but where it would have been quite impossible without that text to decide if these figures are Bodhisattva's or gods or kings. It thus appears that in cases where the text to be represented spoke of "Bodhisattva's", without saying what sort they were to be, the sculptors did not think it necessary to add any special details that would make clear to the spectator the figures were intended for Bodhisattva's. Similar groups are not uncommon among the reliefs of the higher-placed series and though of course it can never be stated with any certainty whether they are Bodhisattva's, gods or even kings — except where a halo or lotuscushion prevents them being monarchs — it is very likely that some of

[1]) Fol. 53a, p. 60 and 108.

[2]) Chavannes, Mission archéologique dans la Chine septentrionale, Publ. Ec. franç., d'Extr. Or XIII, 2 (1915) p. 550 and 368.

[3]) A short discussion of the Barabuḍur Bodhisattva's will be found in Rapp. Oudh. Comm. 1910 p. 10—17.

these groups, probably most of them, must be considered to represent Bodhisattva's. I will mention for instance, the Buddha's hearers on the first reliefs of the chief wall second gallery; several groups in the Maitreya texts, as III 45, 68, 72 and specially 77—87; the persons who play such an important part in the first story of the balustrade on the third gallery (IIIB 3—27); in the same way it will be Bodhisattva's that appear in Maitreya's exhibition of magic on IIIB 54. Such groups we find also on the balustrade of the fourth gallery, as IVB 45, 64, 67, 72, 76, 77. Finally they are to be seen on the chief wall of the fourth gallery as well; at the beginning and then for instance on 18, 56, 58, 66, 69.

On four other reliefs, two on the second gallery and two on the fourth gallery, the Bodhisattva's are treated more individually. On II 15, all round the Buddha rising on a lotuscushion who is the central figure, there are eleven Bodhisattva's each placed on his separate lotuscushion; although some attempt at variation is made in headdress and ornaments as well as the position of the hands, with a flower in the hand of a few of them, these figures are not distinguished from each other by actual emblems or attributes; we quite get the impression that it is only the text having stipulated each of them was to be placed upon a separate lotuscushion, which prevented the sculptor from making these just such an ordinary group as those we have discussed above. The same with the four Bodhisattva's on II 74, who are seated two on each side of the Buddha, all five on lotus cushions rising out of a pond; there is nothing characteristic about them, the figures have no emblems and vary only in the position of the hands. If we were acquainted with the text, it might be possible to recognise them by the mudrā's but now we are quite in the dark because Bodhisattva's cannot be identified generally by the mudrā. This is not only that we have not sufficient knowledge of the mudrā's, but because Indian art as a whole deems it always necessary to distinguish the Bodhisattva's by their emblems.

There are now only two more scenes on the fourth gallery where several Bodhisattva's with attributes are together. Before we discuss them it will be advisable to decide which Bodhisattva's may be considered to be identified by means of other reliefs.

The best identified of them is the most popular Bodhisattva of the Mahāyānistic Church as a whole, the Lord and Guardian of the present universe, Avalokiteçvara or Padmapāṇi. It is now generally understood that these two names signify one and the same being; but as the name Padmapāṇi can only correctly be used for this Bodhisattva when he actually holds a padma in his hand, I prefer to make use of the more

usual one Avalokiteçvara or as the Javanese like to call him, Lokeçvara. I do not believe there is any doubt that this is the Bodhisattva who is recognised by a red lotus in his left hand and the little image of his spiritual father Amitābha in his headdress, while the right hand is generally held in vara-mudrā. Elsewhere, for instance in the bronzes that depict him, the Amitābha image is sometimes omitted [1]) but never on the Barabuḍur. Besides on this monument he is the only Bodhisattva who is also represented in a many-armed shape; with only *one* exception [2]) this holds good for him in the whole of Hindu-Javanese art. On the reliefs where his headdress can be seen distinctly, it appears to be made of coiled up tresses of hair.

Although this headdress with the Amitābha image in it seems to be the mark of distinction for Avalokiteçvara at Barabuḍur, there is sometimes variation to be found in the hands. If we examine the reliefs on which we saw him with Vajrapāṇi or another at the side of the Buddha, it appears that IV 50 answers in every way to all characteristics given by Indian Buddhist art as a whole as well to what Javanese art in particular shews as his ordinary type: the righthand in vara-mudrā, in the left the red lotus on a long stalk. In this instance the flower is more of a round shape, like a peony. On no. 8 the padma, now a bud with a short stalk, is held in the right hand and the left rests on the knee in a kind of vara-mudrā, his first finger seems to bend inwards. On 47 the left hand is laid in the usual vara-mudrā but the flower is omitted; instead of it the right hand is lifted with thumb and first finger touching as in the vitarka-mudrā, but also the middle and third finger are bent into the palm of the hand. The Avalokiteçvara on 20 is holding his hands together in a sĕmbah in front of the breast, possibly they still hold the stem of a flower that shews next to the Bodhisattva's left ear; but it is all very indistinct. On the two reliefs 12 and 17, the headdress is quite worn off, yet evidently Avalokiteçvara was depicted in both instances as we have seen, the pendant of Vajrapāṇi; he has the padma in his left hand, on 12 it is ball-shaped, on 17 like a rosette, while on both reliefs the right hand is held in front of the breast in some quite unrecognisable mudrā.

Not as companion to a Buddha, though on the same relief with seve-

[1]) See for inst. the review of the Buddhist bronzes in the Museum at Batavia, Rapp. Oudh. Comm. 1912 p. 23—37, where some of those in stone are also discussed.

[2]) The only exception is Vajrasattva; comp. above p. 155 note 6 and Juynboll, Catalogus Leiden (1909) p. 86. According to Chapt. X it seems to be very doubtful if Vajrasattva may really be considered as Bodhisattva, although he is represented in Bodhisattva costume.

ral Buddha's and Bodhisattva's, we find Avalokiteçvara again on IV 16 in his most ordinary, his classical form, vara-mudrā right and padma left. The first time we saw him in the story of Sudhana on the chief-wall of the second gallery, II 47, we found him also two-armed, his headdress of locks of hair with the little Amitābha image and the padma held in his left hand; with the right, he here enforces his argument for the benefit of his visitor [1]).

Now reliefs II 100—102 shew a many-armed figure of this Bodhisattva, a fact which is the more remarkable because according to the Gaṇḍavyūha-text we here have before us the famous Avalokiteçvara of Potalaka [2]) who on the miniatures several times quoted, is actually depicted two-armed [3]). We find consecutively twice a four- and once a six-armed Avalokiteçvara, always with the well-known headdress and always seated on a lion-throne. In all three instances the position of the front pair of hands is the same; the right laid on the knee in vara-mudrā, the left holding the stem of the padma. On 100 in the left hand at the back an angkuça can be seen; the object in the right hand of the back pair however is very indistinct, perhaps it was a fly-whisk, but more likely it has been a rosary. The latter would be quite in keeping with what is frequently seen on the bronzes, on which the angkuça also appears in the other hand at the back, but rather seldom [4]). The Avalokiteçvara we find on 101 is quite usual in Java. The Bodhisattva here holds in the left hand of the back pair a book in the form of a kropak; the right hand is knocked off but will undoubtedly have held the rosary. This may be decided not only from analogy to the bronzes but also because an entirely similar standing Avalokiteçvara will be found on the back wall of the Mĕndut. [5]) The stalk of the lotus this one has in his hand rises from a plant growing at the Bodhisattva's left side, and a second flower sprouts out of it and serves as a cushion for an amṛta-bottle. This bottle is not found on the Barabuḍur figure, otherwise the whole personification is the same as that on the Mĕndut.

The six armed Avalokiteçvara on 102 is rather damaged as to his attributes. The front hands, as already noted, shew padma and vara-mudrā in the ordinary way, the second left hand holds an amṛta-bottle and the third righthand a rosary, but the two other hands have lost

[1]) This position of the hands is also given to Avalokiteçvara in India, see Foucher l.l. p. 98 and comp. Rapp. Oudh. Comm. 1910 p. 14.

[2]) See above p. 39 and 54 foll.

[3]) Foucher l.l. p. 109.

[4]) See Rapp. p. 27—31.

[5]) Kersjes and Den Hamer, De Tjandi Mĕndoet (1903), plate 16.

their emblems. Perhaps one of the bronzes [1]) can help us to complete the figure; the bronze that corresponds shews the book in the third left hand and a handle in the second right. What this last may have been, must be left undecided but considering the resemblance between the relief and the bronze as to the first and third right hand preserved on both of them, it seems evident that the book belongs to the back left hand of the six-armed Avalokiteçvara of Barabuḍur.

Until a few years ago the identity of our next Bodhisattva was generally considered established and it would have been unnecessary to bring up arguments to explain it: I refer to the Buddha-elect, Maitreya, distinguished by the little stūpa he wears in his headdress. However it appeared from an article by E. F. Jochim [2]) published in 1914, that this identification was not generally accepted and objections were made. For this reason I think it advisable to discuss this Bodhisattva more elaborately than would otherwise be necessary.

Let us begin by stating where he is found and which is his appearance. Some details on the subject are included in a study by van Erp [3]), referred to already in Chapt VIII; as he has made a close examination of this Bodhisattva's appearance and the result is published in a clear and concise form, it will be quite unnecessary to repeat any description. It will be sufficient for me to say that in connection with my own examination of the separate reliefs I am in general entirely in agreement with the conclusions presented in that article. The Bodhisattva in question is found, as noted, on the last relief of the chief wall second gallery (II 128), then he appears among the first reliefs and on the whole of the second half of the chief wall third gallery as chief person (III 1—9 and 40—88), also on the balustrade of that gallery and on the first part of the balustrade fourth gallery where he plays also chief part (IIIB and IVB 1—42). Finally we found him certainly on one but probably on two reliefs of the chief-wall, fourth gallery (IV 16 and possibly 3). The one always-present emblem of this Bodhisattva is the stūpa in his headdress; although this stūpa varies here and there in shape, it need not for a moment be doubted that in the above-mentioned connected portions of reliefs one and the same chief person is meant; there is no question of various Bodhisattva's with various kinds of stūpa's as their attribute. Sometimes this Bodhisattva holds a branch of the nāgapuṣpa-plant in his hand, but sometimes quite other sorts of flowers, generally lotus, once a

[1]) Rapp. p. 32.
[2]) Bijdr. Kon. Inst. 69 (1914) p. 11—30.
[3]) Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. 54 (1912) p. 427—457.

branch with three buds (III B 84) and several times nothing at all. A third peculiarity that often appears but by no means in general, is a flat band, sash, shawl or scarf of some sort hanging down from the left shoulder.

The question is this: is the Bodhisattva described above to be identified as Maitreya or not? We have seen already that on this point the one relief on which we know by the text for certain that Maitreya is represented, the scene where the tiara is being handed over in the story of Çākyamuni, gives no decisive answer to this question [1]). On this relief, Ia 6, we found one seated and one standing Bodhisattva, the first with a tiara on his head and holding his hands up, the second bare-headed, holding his tiara in his hand. According to the text we have here Çākyamuni on his departure from the Tuşita- heaven, handing over his tiara to Maitreya who is to take over the position of future Buddha. Putting aside the question which of the two is Maitreya, we must give our attention only to the tiara that is held in the hand; it is of course the one Maitreya is to wear in future, whether the standing Bodhisattva is Maitreya who has just received the headdress, or Çākyamuni who is on the point of presenting it. The tiara on the head of the seated figure on the other hand is either the new headdress with which Çākyamuni will descend to earth or the old one that Maitreya still wears but will lay aside the next moment. Now the tiara in the hand has lost its lower front piece, but I can easily agree that even when whole, there was no stūpa on it. Here above I have already stated that the omission of this emblem must not be explained by its being unnecessary but in my opinion its absence merely shews that Maitreya received his stūpa in connection with some event that occurred later than what is here depicted, and after he assumed the office of Buddha elect. Besides, for the sculptors there was a practical objection to putting a stūpa into this tiara; if it were put there it would then follow, either that Çākyamuni when he wore the headdress must also have had a stūpa in it (nothing of this sort is known, on the contrary in the preceding reliefs he wears an ordinary tiara) or that the stūpa appeared in it at the moment of presentation; and this is equally unacceptable when the text makes no mention of it. From one thing and another it seems to me that the stūpa would in no case have been appropriate here, therefore its omission proves nothing as regards the question whether the Bodhisattva with the stūpa emblem is Maitreya or not.

Now it is an established fact that Maitreya in Tibet and Nepal has a

[1]) See Vol. I p. 106 sq. and II p. 67.

stūpa in his headdress; this is proved by examples that bear an inscription. Jochim does not doubt this; his objection principally is that other Bodhisattva's also wear such a stūpa, so that there is no certainty that on Barabuḍur actually Maitreya and no other is meant. I will mention to begin with that the nāgapuṣpa branch is in general a very important attribute of Maitreya, so much so that this Bodhisattva's name in Tibet is connected with this flower. We see this nāgapuṣpa in Java as well in the hand of the Bodhisattva with the stūpa, for instance in the Mĕndut; in the Barabuḍur sanctuary as I have noted, other flowers appear in his hand but among them quite often the nāgapuṣpa, while it is not found anywhere as an attribute to any one but the stūpa Bodhisattva. This already proves there is more chance of his being Maitreya than a Bodhisattva who is not so closely connected with the nāgapuṣpa. When we consider further which other Bodhisattva's are represented with the stūpa we find Jochim gives [1]), specially on Burgess' authority, Padmapāṇi, Vajrapāṇi, Mahāsthāmaprāpta and Mañjuçrī. Apart from the question whether these are all authentic — Burgess' identification was made thirty years ago, and it would not be surprising considering the data then available, if the result requires revision — as regards Barabuḍur we can at once reject Padmapāṇi, notwithstanding the fact that the Bodhisattva of the stūpa sometimes carries a padma. We have seen plainly that Padmapāṇi-Avalokiteçvara is distinguished on this monument by the Amitābha image, the emblem that identifies him in all Indian art; it is not very likely the sculptors would depict him in quite another form as well. What settles the question is that on IV16 the Bodhisattva of the stūpa and Avalokiteçvara in his usual headdress both appear; it is remarkable that both have the right hand in varamudrā and in the left a red lotus. Vajrapāṇi gets his name from the vajra emblem which as far as I know is seldom omitted in the whole Indian art; Mahāsthāmaprāpta is iconographically not of much importance but in Japan he rose to more honour with his stūpa; the few times he appears he has also a vajra. On Barabuḍur we have Bodhisattva's with a vajra, but the one who wears the stūpa headdress *never* has a vajra. It is the same with Mañjuçrī. I have already suggested the possibility that a Bodhisattva with only an utpala might quite well be Mañjuçrī, at least where he appears as companion to the Buddha; the Bodhisattva of the stūpa very seldom carries an utpala. Moreover we possess a Mañjuçrī identified by an inscription, who has sword and book as his emblems;

[1]) l.l. pag. 19.

the monument does not shew one of this same kind, it has a Bodhisattva with a book and also one with a sword, but then again, these two Bodhisattva's wear no stūpa in their headdress and the Bodhisattva with the stūpa never has a book or a sword. All the evidence, in my opinion, points to the stūpa-Bodhisattva being no other than Maitreya. We are justified in asking who, in case the stūpa-Bodhisattva is not Maitreya, is to be selected as the representative of this famous, high-honoured Buddha-elect? Where so many are portrayed, Maitreya first of all would be given an important place. Outside Java besides the stūpa and nāgapuṣpa, the amṛta bottle [1]) is one of Maitreya's principal emblems, in Java this only appears with Avalokiteçvara. How then is Maitreya to be identified if not by the stūpa and nāgapuṣpa? In short, taking all together, I consider the objections made to identifying the Bodhisattva of the stūpa as Maitreya are not justified. I am firmly convinced that his emblem is *exclusively* the stūpa and the rest was evidently of so little importance that the Bodhisattva when once distinguished by his stūpa, might have the padma and vara-mudrā of Avalokiteçvara (IV 16) or Samantabhadra's branch with buds (III B 84) put into his hand without any fear of losing his identity.

As we have just been obliged to include Mañjuçrī in our examination, I will now discuss this Bodhisattva. Because of his appearing in India, I thought it possible to suggest, that he might be recognised as the figure with only an utpala, seated beside the Buddha on IV 20 [2]). If this is correct, it in any case only holds good for Mañjuçrī as companion of the Buddha, therefore in a position, where a mark of distinction was sufficient that would not be adequate elsewhere, or maybe a tradition brought over from India was followed. But besides this the utpala by itself is not a sufficient characteristic to identify a Bodhisattva such as Mañjuçrī; in the various series of reliefs we found instances enough where all sorts of persons, even those who were not Bodhisattva's appeared with this flower in their hand. Mañjuçrī therefore must have other attributes. I have already stated that we have another image of this Bodhisattva a few centuries later in date [3]), with an inscription, giving the name and shewing as emblems a book and a sword. We may look in vain on Barabuḍur for a Bodhisattva depicted like this, although both these emblems are to be found; for there is a Bodhisattva with a book resting on an utpala as well as one with an up-

[1]) Grünwedel, Mythologie p. 124; Foucher l.l. p. 113.

[2]) See above p. 260.

[3]) Set up in 1343 at Jagaghu. See also Rouffaer in Brandes' Tjandi Singasari (1909) p. 101 sq.

standing sword on the same flower. These two figures cannot be meant for the same Bodhisattva, for they are sitting side by side in the same scene (IV 3). It is evident that *one* of them is Mañjuçrī, but which one? Theoretically as much can be said for the one as for the other, but practically it is clear that Mañjuçrī must be the one with the book, not with the sword. It is quite evident that among Javanese Bodhisattva's the one with the book takes a very important place; he appears even quite often among the Bodhisattva's of Plaosan [1]) where only the principal Bodhisattva's are represented; at the same time in the very typical collection of bronzes belonging to the Batavian Society there are rather a good number of figures of this Bodhisattva, quite as many as there are of Maitreya [2]), while the Bodhisattva with the sword is very rare. Seeing that Mañjuçrī is one of the most popular Bodhisattva's in the whole Buddhist church, we may expect to see him frequently represented. On the chief wall of the second gallery we found at the beginning of the Gaṇḍavyūha, II 16, the Bodhisattva with the book where the text leads us to expect Mañjuçrī. Another peculiarity helps to justify this identification; I mean the crescent-shaped decoration placed behind this Bodhisattva's neck, an adornment, as already stated, given generally only to young persons, especially those of high birth [3]). Mañjuçrī is very often called by the epithet Kumārabhūta, in great Mahāyānistic works like Saddharmapuṇḍarīka and Amitāyurdhyānasūtra, as well as, for instance, Nāgārjuna's Mūlamadhyamakakārikās [4]), his Letter referred to in Chapt II [5]), or the Catuṣka-nirhāra [6]) preserved in the Kañjur. And in the list of Bodhisattva's in the Mahāvyutpatti [7]) he is named in full, Mañjuçrī Kumārabhūta; we see in this same list that some other Bodhisattva's bear the same epithet and we shall notice the fact later on. Kumāra to begin with can be translated as "prince" with the meaning of youthful in age as well as of noble birth; thus Kern in his Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-translation gives "still a youth" as alternative to "the

[1]) See IJzerman's Beschrijving der oudheden nabij de grens der residenties Soerakarta and Djogdjakarta (1891) p. 125—127 and plate H and I.

[2]) Rapp. Oudh. Dienst 1912 p. 37—39.

[3]) Jochim gives several examples on p. 27 of his article. According to Moens, Oudh. Versl. 1919 p. 34 seq. it may be originally a crescent-shaped piece of the monk's dress.

[4]) Ed. De La Vallée Poussin, Bibl. Buddh. IV (1913). On p. 1 there is a note to Āryamañjuçriye Kumārabhūtāya namaḥ: „formule commune à tous les ouvrages de cette section du Tandjour".

[5]) Above, Vol. I p. 64. (Journ. Pali Text Soc. 1886 p. 1—32).

[6]) See Feer, Annales Musée Guimet 5 (1883) p. 199—220; also in the dharaṇi's, ibid. p. 438—441.

[7]) Ed. Mironov, Bibl. Buddh. XIII (1911) p. 11.

prince royal" [1]). We can leave it undecided what the original sense of the word is [2]); Javanese iconography has evidently felt the meaning of youthfulness and therefore adorned this Bodhisattva with the well-known attribute of young persons. In this way I think we can account on the one hand for the presence of this ornament and at the same time find another proof for the identification of this Bodhisattva as Mañjuçrī [3]).

The vajra and blue lotus are the usual Indian emblems for Vajrapāṇi [4]) and on Barabuḍur the Bodhisattva with the vajra is undoubtedly Vajrapāṇi; Jochim's objection [5]), that Çakra also has a vajra on Ib 62, does not hold good as here on the Barabuḍur there is a very distinct difference between Çakra and Vajrapāṇi: Çakra holds the vajra in his hand while Vajrapāṇi has it on the utpala, which with Çakra is altogether missing. If more proof were needed than his agreement with the representation in India to establish Vajrapāṇi 's identity, it surely is conclusively fixed by his appearance as companion to the Buddha, where the figure with the vajra can hardly be any one but Vajrapāṇi. He is to be seen only on the chief wall of the fourth gallery, on relief IV 3 (to be discussed later) and next to his Master as we have noticed on 8, 12, 17, possibly 47, perhaps 50 as well. On 12 the vajra is worn away, that on 8 and 17 is small in size and the several points that should go upwards and downwards cannot be distinguished; instead of that we see *one* large point standing up and two downwards partly disappearing into the utpala. On 3 we find a much larger and quite distinct vajra on which can be seen three separate points up and down as well. Both forms of vajra are found elsewhere in Java, there is one very long specimen of the first sort at Mĕndut, where the Bodhisattva is holding this emblem in his hand and where it looks more like two lance points joined together than a vajra; here he has no blue lotus.

When describing what is represented on the chief wall of the fourth gallery it was necessary to find out who was the chief person in the text there depicted; this I have already discussed with the result that we may consider it probable that the chief person who bears the emblem of the branch with three buds, is the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra [6]). We shall not need to discuss him any further, only to re-

[1]) Sacred Books of the East, 21 (1884) p. 4.

[2]) The Āryamañjuçrīnamaṣṭaçatakam (ed. Von Staël Holstein, Bibl. Buddh. XV, 1913) takes it as yuvarāja (p. 99 and 104).

[3]) In Bijdr. Kon Inst. 74 (1918) p. 424 this question has already been concisely treated.

[4]) Foucher l.l. p. 121 sq.

[5]) In his article above mentioned.

[6]) See above p. 91—100.

member that we found him, besides on the chief wall mentioned, in other places, II 14, III 16—18, IVB 60, 61. There is a doubtful instance on IBa 179, where a figure with the three bud branch sits without halo or lotus cushion; again on IVB 82 and III 14, where halo and lotuscushion both appear and indicate a Bodhisattva, but where the emblem is not precisely the same. On the first relief the branch has four buds, more like flowers, and on III 14 the three buds or flowers each apparently branch out again into stems, so that the flower looks something like a half-vajra. As this Bodhisattva also has a flame at the top of his tiara, there is every reason to suppose that something extraordinary is here represented and the figure is perhaps not Samantabhadra at all.

In the hero of the Gaṇḍavyūha-text on the second gallery, we discovered the Bodhisattva Sudhana, a figure otherwise unknown to iconography, unless we may identify him with Sudhanakumāra who is found chiefly as the follower of Amoghapāça [1]); in this quality in Java as well, he has a statue guaranteed by an inscription, on which the same as in other places, his distinctive attribute seems to be the book [2]). At any rate it must be noted that the Sudhana of Barabuḍur has no mark of distinction, and the sculptor has evidently been allowed the liberty of occasionally putting various objects or flowers into his hand without violating any tradition. Besides these, there are various similar figures in the several series of reliefs that we recognise or suppose to be Bodhisattva's without knowing their name. It is quite probable that in the Maitreya and Samantabhadra texts the attendant or worshipper who accompanies the chief person may himself be a Bodhisattva and there are probably also Bodhisattva's among the haloed figures such as we saw several times on the chief wall first gallery, bottom row. There what is depicted is chiefly Çākyamuni's former lives; but on the higher galleries the Bodhisattva's of the present and the future are certainly often represented. In Maitreya's miraculous apparitions on the balustrade of the third gallery Bodhisattva's also appear (see especially IIIB 61 and 62). On the whole it seems to me, there is every chance that men seated on lotus cushions, in the dress of distinguished persons with a halo are Bodhisattva's. Let us give attention to one or two of them. The scene on IV 7 shews us one of these Bodhisattva's holding a shell that he is using as a musical instrument and he is accompanied by

[1]) Foucher, Etude sur l'iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde II (1905) p. 26 sq., 37, 40 sq. (as follower of Mañjuçrī); Grünwedel, Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei (1901) p. 129 and 132.

[2]) Brandes, Tjandi Djago (1904) p. 101 and plate 3; Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche kunst (1923) II p. 124 and plate 63.

a whole orchestra. On IV 67 we find a figure with an utpala and his hands in sĕmbah; he not only has a halo and a lotuscushion but his position among three Buddha's very plainly marks him as a Bodhisattva, though as I stated before not all who hold the utpala can be reckoned as such. A similar distinction applies to the figures with the crescent behind their neck, when they are not children. There was one on II 27 with a halo (therefore most likely intended for the Buddha-ship) but not a lotuscushion; according to the text this was a "youth" to whom the Bodhisattva Sudhana paid a visit [1]). One of the chief persons on the balustrade of the fourth gallery (IV B 43—51) had the same ornament both with and without a halo [2]); neither can this one it appears be recognised for certain as a Bodhisattva. On the contrary we can be sure of the figure on III 12, seated on his lotuscushion on a lion throne with the crescent behind him; his headdress is peculiar, not a tiara, but a diadem ornamented with what seems to be something in loops [3]). We do not know who this represents, but of course he must be looked for among the Kumārabhūta's [4]). Finally let us recall the Bodhisattva figure set up in a niche in the pavilion on III 34 [5]); it is not very distinct and *seems* to wear an Amitābha-image in the headdress, in which case it would be of course Avalokiteçvara. The lefthand rests in its lap, the right is held in front of the breast in a mudrā.

Now remain for discussion the two reliefs with a group of Bodhisattva's, all distinguished by emblems, therefore treated as individuals, on IV 2 and 3. It is lamentable they are so damaged and have lost a good deal of their importance, but several peculiarities have been saved. A description of their general appearance will be found above [6]), I shall only deal with the Bodhisattva's. On IV 2 there are only two visible, Samantabhadra with his branch of buds, here a double one, and a Bodhisattva whose emblem is a jewel on a blue lotus. We can recognise the lotusbud and a padma of two others, but everything is too indistinct for us to come to any conclusion about them. Besides these four, there are two other persons in official dress, but they do not seem to have either lotuscushion or any sort of emblem. The next scene shews as far as I can see, nine similar figures, eight of them apparently Bodhisattva's, for

[1]) See above p. 34.

[2]) See p. 135.

[3]) See p. 77 where the possibility of this being Mañjuçrī is discussed.

[4]) The Mahāvyutpatti mentions on p. 11 as other Kumārabhūta's: Meruçikharadhara, Varuṇamati, Sumati and Durdharṣa.

[5]) See p. 80.

[6]) Pag. 102.

the ninth is not sitting on a lotuscushion and probably does not belong to them. There is no difficulty in recognising Vajrapāṇi with his vajra and Mañjuçrī with his book on the utpala; whether the latter here has the crescent-ornament is not any more to be seen. Both have the right hand in vara-mudrā. Then we see a Bodhisattva with a sword pointing upwards on a padma and another with his hands in dhyāna-mudrā, at whose side there is a branch bearing small rosette-shaped flowers. These four are seated below; in the middle of the upper row, between two Buddha's, is a Bodhisattva with a niche in his headdress, holding a lotus-bud on a stalk in his left hand. We are not able to discern if there has been a stūpa or an Amitābha-image in the niche and if this Bodhisattva is Maitreya or Avalokiteçvara. Two others hold a branch with different flowers, one of these branches, in the hand of a Bodhisattva whose headdress is completely worn-away, looks very like the nāgapuṣpa, in which case this would be Maitreya and the one just described Avalokiteçvara. Then quite on the left there is a Bodhisattva whose emblem is a stalk with a padma cushion, out of which incense smoke is rising. It is impossible to venture an opinion about the indistinct flower-emblems, but I will say a few words about the three other Bodhisattva's who bear respectively jewel, sword and smoking emblem. Just as the vajra on the utpala identifies the Bodhisattva who holds it as Vajrapāṇi, I consider the jewel (ratnam) on the utpala identifies Ratnapāṇi, even though he is sometimes found holding the jewel only in his hand [1] — we have seen that Vajrapāṇi too does the same with his emblem. Nor is it impossible that this figure might be Kṣitigarbha, a Bodhisattva who also appears with a jewel [2]; there seems to have been some connection between him and Ratnapāṇi, which it is not advisable to discuss here. The same applies to the Bodhisattva with the sword on a lotus. According to a particular Tibet representation [3], this emblem belongs to Akāçagarbha, alias Khagarbha, while Nepal data indicate the Bodhisattva Viçvapāṇi [4] as bearing the sword combined with the double crossed vajra, the so-called viçvavajra. In this form it is also found in Java [5] and it is quite

[1]) See Rapp. Oudh. Dienst 1913 p. 65 sq.; Not. Bat. Gen. 1913 p. XLVIII no. 5393 and 1914 p. 187 no 5494.

[2]) Grünwedel, Mythologie p. 141 and in particular De Visser, Ostasiatische Zeitschrift 2 (1913—14) p. 189—196.

[3]) Grünwedel ibidem.

[4]) Oldfield, Sketches from Nipal (1880) II p. 177; comp. Groeneveldt, Catalogus Batavia (1887) p. 79.

[5]) Rapp. p. 67, Not. Bat. Gen. 1913 p. XLVIII no. 5395, 1914 p. 187 no. 5497.

possible that this Bodhisattva may be intended without the viçva-vajra, characterized only by the sword [1]). In this case too the same being may perhaps be hidden under various names.

This Akāçagarbha as well as the Bodhisattva with the burning emblem will be found among the eight Bodhisattva's in the side panels on the outside walls of the Mĕndut. I have made a short study of these [2]), which though founded only on a hypothesis, seems worth considering. My supposition was that the eight Bodhisattva's of Mĕndut might be the same as the eight that are found in the cave-temples of the Western Ghats, also grouped round the Buddha and these two groups would correspond to the eight Great Bodhisattva's continually mentioned in the Mahāyānistic literature, the same whose names head the list of Bodhisattva's in the Mahāvyutpatti. On comparing the figures placed on different sides of the Mĕndut with the statements in the Pañcakrama [3]), which apportions the eight Bodhisattva's there mentioned to the four points of the compass [4]), it appears that the Bodhisattva's known to us by their emblems are actually placed according to a regular sequence just as we might expect to find them. This made it seem very likely that the same might be the case with the unknown Bodhisattva figures; but it was impossible to verify the accuracy of the results obtained. *In case* the supposition is correct, it would follow in course that the Bodhisattva with the sword is actually Akāçagarbha and at the same time what is of importance to Barabuḍur, the identity of the Bodhisattva with the burning emblem would be established and his name be Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin. I shall not give more place or importance to the theory in this very early stage of research, but consider it worth mentioning.

After the Buddha's and Bodhisattva's we come to the Tārā's. They do not appear in the texts that have been identified and though here and there in the relief series on the higher galleries we find women with haloes who might be intended for Tārā's, they would do just as well for goddesses or other heavenly beings; there is nothing whatever to distinguish them as Tārā's. It must be stated that sofar not a single Tārā has

[1]) See Juynboll, Catalogus Leiden (1909) p. 103 no. 1630/14 and plate XIII, 2.

[2]) Bijdr. Kon. Inst. 74 (1918) p. 419—437.

[3]) Ed. De la Vallée Poussin, Receuil de travaux publiés par la faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'Université de Gand, 16ième fascicule (1896), I vs 31 sq., 62—65, 154—157.

[4]) The verses are to be found I 31 sq.

been discovered on Barabuḍur and that we possess no data that enable us without the help of texts to distinguish the figure of a Tārā from a goddess or any woman of high position; so nothing but the discovery of the texts followed can shew whether Tārā's are represented on the monument and if there, of what kind they are. It is quite plain that in any case there is no elaborate system of Tārā's with fixed emblems, like that of Nepal, in what is here depicted.

On the whole the *gods* and *goddesses* of the Buddhist pantheon are more clearly specified, though not altogether free from confusion. This is particularly noticeable in the groups of gods such as continually appear in the lifestory of Çākyamuni; if the text did not specify that persons depicted on the panel in question were gods, we might just as well take them for Bodhisattva's. Again where some particular gods are intended, there is seldom any attempt made to give them an individual character. The four divine guardians of the winds on Ia 104 wear the ordinary dress of high rank and are not even supplied with a halo. The same with goddesses, apsarasas and similar divine beings; in instances where we know by the text that a goddess is depicted, so as Vimalā on Ia 36, the goddess of the tree Ia 82, the earth-goddess Ia 94, the city goddess Ib 83, the night goddesses II 105—112, to mention a few, we find nothing more than figures of women in more or less elegant attire, the same as ordinary queens, not even always wearing a halo.

Only a few of the gods can be recognised by special emblems. The first of these is Çakra alias Indra, who in Buddhist stories is called generally Çakra, king of the gods. But even this figure the sculptor has often passed over without clearly indicating him in this position. In the Lalitavistara Çakra is repeatedly mentioned by name among the gods who appear on special occasions, while the relief that illustrates the incident merely gives us a group of gods, as on Ia 10, 20, 28, 52, 64, 106, 120; even on the Great Departure, Ia 65, where Çakra and Brahmā according to the text shew the way, we do see two gods going in front but neither of them has any distinctive marks. Nor is Çakra clearly indicated on Ib 46 and 49, where he appears in the story of Māndhātar or in the Jātakamālā tale there is about him, where he comes in on IBa 44[1]). But on the other hand there are numerous scenes in which his identity is clearly proved by the presence of his satellite who wears the elephant's trunk in his

[1]) Other reliefs where Çakra may be expected, IBa 22 and 47a, are too much damaged for us to decide if the god is actually depicted.

headdress, large elephant ears and often has the angkuça in his hand as well. It was I Jzerman who first called attention to this curious personage identifying him as Viçvakarman [1]); then Pleyte made a closer examination and proved that this figure must rightly be called Airāvata, for his elephant trunk and ears plainly shew he actually personates Çakra's usual mount, the elephant [2]). In a special article devoted to Airāvata, Jochim has shewn that he was to be found in more places than had so-far been discovered [3]), and in my description of the reliefs it will be seen that I was able to add a few instances to the number. The collected result is that Airāvata is to be found in the following scenes: Ia 67, 82, 89; Ib 38, 62; IBa 29, 56, 68, 211, 212, 230, 232, 248, 249, 253; III 73; IIIB 35, 73, 81, 85, 88 (decorative); IVB 3, 17, twenty three times in all [4]). The king of the gods can only be recognised by his companion, he has no real emblem of his own, except in one scene Ib 62, where he holds the vajra in his hand, the attribute that belongs to him everywhere as Indra in the Brahmanistic pantheon. This symbol of the lightning has three points on each side; therefore the same kind of thing that Vajrapāṇi is holding on IV 3.

Next to Çakra, Brahmā plays a rather important part in the Lalitavistara as lord of a still more exalted heavenly group; he is generally not distinguished in any way from the others. The text introduces him in the episodes represented on Ia 13, 14, 28, 52, 65, 91, 106, 107, 120. Only on one of them, 91, does he shew something individual. Not that he is depicted like the famous, four-headed Brahmā of Brahmanism, but the sculptor has made him the curious headdress from which he gets the name Çikhin i. e. with the headdress of high form. Some of the other divine figures wear the same kind of headdress, which is quite in keeping with the figure known to be Brahmā kneeling in front; the others are of course Brahmākāyika's, dwellers in Brahmā's heaven, in this way distinguished from other gods. I have intentionally passed over no. 14 because the meaning of it is not quite certain [5]); if my explanation of its being a performance of homage by Brahmā and his followers is correct, then the high hairdressing seen in the left hand group, in contrast to the tiara's

[1]) Tijdschr. Aadr. Gen. 2 : 16 (1899) p. 327—330.

[2]) Die Buddha-Legende in den Skulpturen des Tempels von Bôrô-Budur (1901) p. 183.

[3]) Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. 55 (1913) p. 202—208.

[4]) On one of the reliefs at the sides of the staircase at Mĕndut Çakra is also to be recognised by Airāvata's presence. See Kersjes & Den Hamer, De Tjandi Mĕndoet voor de restauratie (1903) plate 13.

[5]) See Vol I p. 117.

on the right hand, will not be accidental. Then we see among the gods on 35 who have stepped off their pedestals to honor the Bodhisattva when he visits the temple, there is *one* without a tiara, who has his hair combed up high; maybe in this instance as well, it is intended to distinguish Brahmā from the other gods. Should this prove correct, then there is no doubt about a scene on the balustrade of the second gallery, IIB 12, although there the text is unknown to us. The figure seated at the head of a group of very richly-dressed men, I think must be no other than Brahmā presiding over a company of gods.

Çiva, as far as we can discover, is only twice represented on the monument, both times in the Gaṇḍavyūha on II 48 and 104. He is shewn in the form of Çiva-Mahādeva, four-armed with Nandi, his riding-animal, couched at the foot of his master's throne. In the back pair of hands in both instances he holds in the right a rosary, left, a fly whisk; of the pair of front hands on 48, the left rests in his lap, the right is held in the attitude of preaching; on 104 both front hands are laid on his lap in dhyāna-mudrā. Next to him on this relief is his usual emblem, the trident; the serpent-upavīta can also be seen. In the text this last figure is specially mentioned as Mahādeva of Dvāravatī.

We cannot be certain about Viṣṇu, who appears perhaps on IBa 166 and Yama who possibly is to be found on O 110 and III 69. Neither of them has any sort of distinctive attribute. The first-mentioned figure has a Garuḍa seated behind him and next to him there is a shell on a pedestal; this coincidence of a Viṣṇuistic symbol with one of Viṣṇu's attendants gives some support to the idea of the figure representing that god. The Garuḍa has a stand next to him with a bird on it. The so-called Yama is only suspected to be such because he seems to be in command of one of the scenes in hell. The two Yama's are not very much alike. The least likely is the one on O 110; his beard, poor clothing and water jug make him look as much like a hermit and he is perhaps not taking any share in the hellish business; but the one on III 69 is more of a god, he sits there in full-dress with a halo, evidently giving orders to the hell-fiend who kneels before him. Behind his throne we see something like an arrow and a club, the latter undoubtedly one of Yama's weapons. The figure on IBa 260 with its jewel-pots and jewel on a pedestal reminds us of Kuvera [1]).

As for the gods, we must notice some few groups of four persons such as we have seen on IBa 166—168 (where Viṣṇu and Garuḍa are sitting opposite a couple of unknown persons) as well as on 222—224, 292 in

[1]) See Vol. I p. 413 sq.

the same series of reliefs and IIB 87 [1]). Finally there is still one very peculiar figure: the ten-armed god or goddess on IV 39. This being is sitting on the ground, leaning on its first right hand; the left held in front of its breast. In the other hands we see, more or less distinctly, on the right consecutively, sword, arrow, stiletto and angkuça; on the left, dagger, bow, a looped-shaped object that may possibly be a slanting disc, and a stick. The whole figure is somewhat damaged, and the headdress very indistinct; moreover we cannot be sure if the creature is a god or a goddess. If it is a lady she does not quite correspond to any of the statues or descriptions of Buddhist goddesses that we possess. The combination of terrible and loveable qualities is ascribed to the goddess Cundā [2]) who was also worshipped in Java; but this is not exactly what this goddess at Barabuḍur reveals with her eight fearful weapons and two hands that hold nothing. I have already suggested [3]) that this may be meant for a Brahmanistic figure. Moreover it is not impossible, if this is a man we may have M ā r a before us surrounded by his fascinating daughters as we saw them on the chief wall of the first gallery. On relief Ia 95 the god really looks like an ordinary royal personage, but on the contrary Ia 94, shewing the famous attack of Māra's army against Çākyamuni when he is becoming Buddha, seems to support the above view: among those warriors we find there and nowhere else on Barabuḍur, figures with twelve or more arms, all bearing terrible weapons so that we are inclined to think the relief mentioned may be connected with IV 39. On the other hand it should be noted that Māra himself is only two-armed in the fray. He is mounted on an elephant and armed with bow and arrow.

As for the semi-divine creatures that still await description, I shall only mention those who are introduced in some characteristic manner. Asura's, heavenly nymphs, gandharva's, vidyādhara's, divine musicians and all suchlike, differ in no way from human beings except that they hover in the air when required.

N ā g a's, i.e. snakes represented in human form, who play such an important part in the Buddhist texts, can always be recognised by their hood with three, five, (or even more) cobra-heads. They are found on reliefs O 94; Ia 85 (?), 87—89, 91, 101, 111, 113, 119; Ib 3—5, 97; IBa 161, 169, 187—190, 273; IBb 6; II 11, 128; III 74, 75; IIIB 38, 49; IV

[1]) See descriptions Vol: I p. 403, 409, 416 and 472.

[2]) Also to Kurukullā, see for instance Grünwedel l.l. p. 152; Foucher l.l. II (1905) p. 72—75.

[3]) Page 108.

31, 35. The sculptor has been so consistent in his manner of depicting them that in the case of Ia 101 he has overlooked his text. The episode for illustration relates how a nāga king protected the Buddha with seven coils of his body and sheltered him with his hood [1]), a performance only achievable by a real snake. Keeping the nāga in his human shape he presents the incident merely as the nāga-king paying homage to the Buddha, thereby ignoring the most striking point of the text.

Kinnara's, the human birds that appear so frequently, are not treated with the same uniformity. In the pictures of the Sudhanakumārāvadāna that describes the love of an earthly prince for a kinnarī, the sculptor has rightly judged it better not to display the beloved one as a half-bird creature which would certainly make the tale less edifying. Consequently through the whole story (Ib 1—20), not only the kinnarī herself but the members of her family and servants, in fact all kinnara's are shewn in human form. Elsewhere we find the kinnara's represented in two ways; either with a bird body and human head and breast or with the whole upper body human and the lower part as a bird. The great difference of course is that in the latter case they have a pair of arms at their disposal and can take hold of things. Kinnara's are found on the following reliefs: O 101, 102, 126, 130, 137, 143, 147, 149, 151(?), 160; Ib 51, 89, 90, 112; IBa 214, 371; IBb 22, 36, (38,) 39; IIB 62; II 20, 23, 30, 38, 105, 116, 121—124; III 2, 5, 14, 22, 24, 26—28, 30, 38, 49, 51, 52, 55, 65, 66, 75, 76, 80, 86; IIIB 19, 42; IV 35. Especially in the series on the buried base they are used to indicate a scene in heaven, when they are placed either on each side of a wishing-tree or among its branches. O 155 is a remarkable instance: instead of bird legs they have ordinary human legs with feet, which are however much too short in proportion; so they are evidently meant for kinnara's but the sculptor may have been careless about them. The "kinnara's" on O 151 also seem to have a human leg. Generally kinnara's are depicted standing, only in very few instances they are shewn flying.

Garuḍa's are much more rare and have much less of a bird about them. They can be seen on seven reliefs, O 94, IBa 166, II 11, 128, III 75, IIIB 42, IV 35. They appear entirely in human shape except for a bird's beak and rough stiff or hanging hair that ends in short curls; occasionally the hair is twisted up in a knot. Bird's eyes, more or less distinct from human eyes and large round earrings also distinguish some of them; wings are only once distinctly seen (II 128) and once doubtful (IB a 166). Thus the *only* certain sign on Barabuḍur is the bird beak.

[1]) See Vol. I p. 210.

This is not without importance for the history of the Garuḍa-type in Java, for which Brandes has given the outlines [1]).

Yakṣa's or rākṣasa's, the man-devouring demons that figure in so many of the tales, are to be recognised by their wild aspect; they usually have big round eyes, moustache, hair sticking out all round their heads ending in little curls, but sometimes hanging loose and unkempt, and round earrings. On the Barabuḍur no actual difference is made between the bearded type that may be called yakṣa and the beardless rākṣasa; even in the same tale these creatures are shewn with and without a beard. Not all those answering to the above description must be put down as yakṣa's however, for occasionally we find one of them in a king's retinue or as guard at the gate, where evidently no such being as a yakṣa is intended but more likely a foreign soldier. See for instance on reliefs O 18, 100 (comp. 64, 82); Ia 8, 52, 53, 55, 61; Ib 75, 95; IBa 153; IBb 87, IIB 25, 36, 81; II 35. In contrast to these there are a great number of instances where the text or the rest of the scene shews that real yakṣa's are intended. Such are reliefs O 10, 96; Ia 65, 66; Ib 9, 44, 45, 52, 59, 112; IBa 31—32, 34, 47a, 67, 117, 119, 130, 132, 176, 178, 236, 267, 347, 364; IIB 39(?); II 11, 57, 128; III 68, 75; III B 39, 41, 64, 80; IV 32, 33, 35. The hell-fiends who have the same appearance as yakṣa's must be mentioned separately, they are called "rākṣasa's of Yama", and found on O 86, 88—89, 92, 110; III 69; IV B 78. This last sort just as the first mentioned, are generally armed. On O 109 there is one wearing an ordinary tiara, with a club in his hand.

To complete the list of such creatures there are the preta's, one of whom I expect to be the frightful figure on O 95 with a distended belly and sunken chest and cheeks [2]). There are probably some more preta's elsewhere, very likely on III 70, where Maitreya is giving food to some emaciated starving people. The picture is so horrible that it reminds us of the always hungry, ever thirsty preta's much more than of ordinary poor folk. If this be correct, then the same sort of creatures appear on IVB 79, though they are not nearly as horrid looking. As both these reliefs follow on a picture of hell, there is the more likelihood of preta's being intended.

[1]) In Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. 47 (1904) p. 559—563.

[2]) See Vol. I p. 74.

CHAPTER XIII

THE BUDDHISM OF BARABUḌUR

The last part of our task will be an attempt as far as the data available allow, to establish the position Barabuḍur occupies in Buddhism in general and in the Mahāyāna of Java in particular. The results obtained above in the several chapters, sufficiently prove that our knowledge with regard to this point is very slight and incomplete. When all details are collected, it is not to be expected that any complete system will be revealed. All the same it will be useful to review the results gained and consider what indications they shew for further research and in which direction they point.

On the series of reliefs round the buried base of the monument we found first of all scenes of daily life on earth and it was often easy to understand how side by side with various good or evil deeds, their reward or punishment was set forth, in rebirth on earth, in heaven or hell. Taken as a whole, this series may be regarded as an illustration of the laws of Karman and by what was brought before his eyes, the beholder on the one hand was urged towards the good and frighted from evil, but at the same time the hopeless eternal circle of life was vividly impressed on his mind. Seeing that in all this, cosmological and metaphysical questions predominate, it seems not unlikely that what is represented may be founded on some Abhidharma treatise, but the comparatively general value of the Abhidharma combined with the fact that we have so little knowledge of the separate Abhidharma texts, makes it almost impossible to deduce from this any indication of the particular system followed by the founders of Barabuḍur.

The first gallery shewed us in the top row on the chief wall the life-story of the historic Buddha, from his dwelling in the Tuṣita-heaven before his descent to earth, until the first preaching in the Deer-park at Benares. The text here followed proved to be the Lalitavistara, with a

few trifling exceptions in exactly the same form as the redaction that exists. In the bottom row began a series of edifying tales, avadāna's and jātaka's, that are continued along the balustrade of the first and second gallery. Çūra's Jātakamālā gave the text for part of these tales, again with quite unimportant variations; as for the rest, no consecutive series has been identified. Some few have been recognised singly or in some other context. Several of the most important, judging by the great number of reliefs they take up, were stories which have been preserved in the Divyāvadāna, among them some that followed the Divyāvadāna text in the most minute details, but others that differed widely from it. Then there were some out of the Avadānaçataka and curiously enough only out of the fourth decade of that work; finally a few more were recognised by means of the collection of Pāli-jātaka's, the Chinese Tripiṭaka or in some other way.

Next, on the chief wall of the second gallery came the Gaṇḍavyūha, in another edition than the list of contents we possess; this however may be due to its inaccuracy. It is possible that the continuation and end of Sudhana's search after the Highest Wisdom is represented on the third and fourth gallery; the third gallery in any case shews a tale in which the Bodhisattva Maitreya plays chief part, he also seems to be the hero on the balustrade of the same gallery and the first half of the fourth.

On the chief wall of this fourth gallery we found a remarkable number of reliefs shewing groups of Buddha's together; then again there was one particular Bodhisattva acting as chief person whom I thought may be recognised as Samantabhadra, the last Buddha of the Future, just as Maitreya is the first-expected Tathāgata.

In the niches above all these galleries were seated the Dhyāni-Buddha's in five different mudrā's. Four of them were each turned to one point of the compass, the fifth were seated in an upper row facing all sides. These five could be identified as the famous five Dhyāni-Buddha's of the Nepal system, Amitābha, Ratnasambhava, Akṣobhya and Amoghasiddha to the points of the compass and Vairocana placed above them as ruler of the zenith. As regards the Buddha with a sixth kind of mudrā, seated within the latticeworked domes on the circular terraces, who is generally thought to be the historic Buddha, I have suggested the possibility of this being intended for a sixth Dhyāni-Buddha, who was worshipped by various sects under the name of Vajrasattva.

At last in 1842 an unfinished Buddha statue was discovered in the chief stūpa, the same size and appearance as the Dhyāni-Buddha's. I was not able to agree with the statement that this was a copy of the also

unfinished image of the historic Buddha that once stood in the temple of Mahābodhi. On the contrary I consider there was every reason to doubt if this image had originally belonged to the chief-stūpa; it was more likely brought in from outside. Fortunately this question is not of such great importance to the right estimation of the monument as a whole.

Most probably relics were buried in the heart of the stūpa; nothing of this sort however has been found and it seems not impossible that they are still there deep under the centre of the chief-stūpa. It is of course quite uncertain what they consist or consisted of.

Before continuing to consider what is found on Barabuḍur, let me call attention to something which is noticeable by its absence. We have been able to follow step by step the story of Çākyamuni's life, up to the first preaching of his Creed. Later on we still get some scenes of a Buddha preaching or being worshipped, but evidently these are merely introductions to or episodes taken from the great sūtra's which are represented further on. Actual well-known incidents in the Buddha's later life on earth are not to be found and though it is true the legend concerning the period after he became Buddha is far less elaborate and has fewer events to relate than the history of his Bodhisattva-ship, still there are a certain number of fixed incidents known of the later period such as the conversion of the Kāçyapa's, of the black snake, the episode of Nanda, of Ugrasena, of the yakṣa Āṭavika, the submission of the nāga Apalāla, the visit of Indra king of the gods and that of Elāpatra the nāga, the entry into Rājagṛha, and the visit to the Çākya's, the preaching in the heaven of the Trayastriṃças and the descent from that heaven, the donation of the Jetāvana, the presentation of Āmrapāli and of the handful of dust, the worship of the ape, the rage of the white dog, the measuring of the Buddha, the comforting of Ananda, the rescue of Jyotiṣka from fire, Devadatta's various plots and what must not be forgotten, the Great Miracle of Çrāvastī; all these are important incidents in the story of the Buddha's further life, moreover they are plainly depicted elsewhere which makes the omission more conspicuous [1]). None of these episodes are found at Barabuḍur [2]); among those mentioned are several that would have noticeable features for recognition either in the arrangement of the scene or the peculiarities of the persons or animals depicted, so that we can be

[1]) See Foucher, L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra, I (1905) p. 440—553.

[2]) Comp. what is said above about the Miracle of Çrāvastī p. 85—91.

sure they cannot have been passed over or left hidden in some out-of-the-way corner.

Still more remarkable than the omission of all that, is the fact that we can seek in vain for a thing so important as the Nirvāṇa and the scenes which group themselves round it in all Buddhist art and legend. The Nirvāṇa is one of the four Great Events in the life of the Master that were so often pictured together, and its site had always remained a favorite place of pilgrimage. The most peculiarly strange fact that on a monument so richly-illustrated as Barabuḍur the end of the Buddha's career should be entirely ignored, has already been noticed by Brandes who offers an explanation of it [1]). Accepting the idea that after the first part of the life-story on the first gallery, the chief-walls of the higher galleries should be given to the most important incidents of Çākyamuni's preaching, he considers that the end of the Buddha's career might be looked for above the fourth gallery on the smooth outer walls of the circular terraces. The explanation of the Nirvāṇa scenes being omitted is simply this, "that the rich and beautiful series was not completed when the work stopped or was obliged to be stopped" [2]).

To refute the argument that these terrace walls as we see them now could have been intended for a decoration of reliefs, I shall refer to Brandes himself. It is to him we owe the knowledge that relief decoration placed on a smooth wall without an upper and lower cornice to form the frame that it requires, is an absurdity in Middle Javanese art, besides the knowledge that had it been intended to put in such cornices either with or without ogives etc., this would have been visible in the first plan of that part of the building, even before the decoration was completed. For in the method of building followed by the Hindu-Javanese, all the parts that are to be used afterwards for decoration must already be set in place during the construction [3]). All the same the question is not as easy to settle as it looks. We have already [4]) heard that an alteration was discovered on the circular terraces which shewed that originally they were built on a profiled base. How that would have altered their appearance is not here the question; but it is quite possible it may have been intended to put a row of reliefs along their base. In this way, though it does not seem very probable, that the *existing* terraces could ever have been meant for reliefs, the possibility remains that something like the following took place: the

[1]) In Not. Bat. Gen. 1903, Bijl. II p. VI—IX. Comp. Bijl. VIII and Not. 1902 p. XXXVIII.
[2]) l.l. p. IX.
[3]) See Not. Bat. Gen. 1902, Bijl. XV, p. CXLVII—CL.
[4]) Vol. I p. 28.

original intention of the builders of Barabuḍur was to give the terraces a profiled line and decorate them with reliefs, perhaps depicting the further history of the Buddha as preacher, but in any case the Nirvāṇa. For some or other reason, the meaning of which we cannot discover, it was decided to make an alteration, build the terraces quite straight, and probably because they were forced to do so, leave out the portrayal of such highly important events.

This explanation of the matter seems not altogether improbable; all the same we ought not to accept this view any more than that of Brandes. It is I think in opposition to the design of the monument as a whole. Not that I should attempt to bring my own opinion forward as the only right explanation but I venture to offer the following suggestions. When we leave the richly-decorated galleries and stand suddenly on the austere unornamented terraces, the mind receives a deep and beneficent impression; the turmoil of this world of appearances slips away from us as we come into the world of meditation. If this touches the modern spectator, how much more powerfully must it have moved the believer of ancient times who was so much closer related to all that was represented on Barabuḍur and the ideas to which its images give expression. To me it seems impossible that such an impression was not deliberately intended by the designer of this temple.

This is however partly a question of feeling which is not easily proved, but there is further evidence available. Brandes himself remarks that in the sequence of the chief walls of the galleries there is a climax to be noted, "an increase of metaphysical insubstantiality"; "the visions of trance here presented to us become gradually nobler, deeper in meaning, richer, wider, more exalted."[1]) As already stated[2]), I am also convinced that this climax is certainly apparent and intentional; not only on the chief walls but partially also in the series of reliefs on the balustrades[3]). According to Brandes the climax is this, the first gallery relates the story of the Buddha up to his first preaching, the second, third and fourth illustrate the chief points of his teaching in a series of continually ascending and more exalted ideas, till finally the terraces are to reveal the Nirvāṇa. It is of course true that traditionally the great sūtra's of the Mahāyāna belong to the teaching of the Buddha and according to their preface, most of them are given as

[1]) l.l. page VI and VIII.

[2]) Pag. 152 sq.

[3]) Brandes' statement that the balustrades only illustrate "jātaka's, jātaka's and still more jātaka's or similar stories" (p. IX) applies only to the first and second gallery.

Çākyamuni's own words. But the actual contents prove that no great emphasis is laid on the personality of the historic Buddha. This is evidently the same on Barabuḍur. On the first gallery Çākyamuni is the hero. The second shews the search after the Highest Wisdom by an entirely different person, who achieves his aim by the help of three Bodhisattva's. Then Maitreya is the chief figure on the third gallery; he is the Buddha-elect who is to proclaim the Creed of Salvation after Çākyamuni; the fourth gallery gives us Samantabhadra whose great mission as the last Buddha of the future removes him still further from the present. The texts have now left Çākyamuni. When Samantabhadra is reached, from whom in the last instance Salvation is to come and whose position according to certain sects, differs very little from that of a Supreme Being — this was shewn in chapt. X and will also appear later on — then Çākyamuni has been left behind. To return to him again would be an anti-climax, a falling off and the very same reason which prevented me from expecting to find the figure of Çākyamuni among the Buddha's on the terraces makes it seem improbable that the same terraces should have been intended for the Parinirvāṇa. If that was to be represented, the place for it would be the first or at most the second gallery, not higher.

In my opinion it has never been intended to depict the Buddha's end on Barabuḍur and certainly not on the terraces. Nevertheless its omission is a most remarkable fact and Brandes very rightly called attention to it. But when he argues "the Parinirvāṇa is *too* important to be missing on this richly-decorated sanctuary, where will it have been placed?", I must put the question in another form: what can have been the reason that such an important event was not represented on this richly-illustrated monument?

The answer I think, can only be the following: because Çākyamuni's Nirvāṇa was not such an important fact to the designers of Barabuḍur. The more value is put on what can be expected from the future of Maitreya or Samantabhadra, the more we adjust our conception of the world to the lofty Dhyāni-Buddha system that soars far above and beyond our world and time, the less becomes the importance of Çākyamuni's personality. He is but one of many; he has of course a particular value for us because we live just in the period and the world in which he preached, but the importance of that is more or less accidental; its great interest to us is not the same to the whole system of world-cycles, in the midst of which his career is but an episode. He has revealed to us the Creed of Salvation, for that we owe him gratitude and reverence; but what becomes of him

further matters comparatively little to us. For the Hīnayāna this is quite different, there Çākyamuni is the one, who has shewn us the way of deliverance from the misery of life's eternal circle through this very Nirvāṇa; the extinction of the Master is the great and splendid example that all believers struggle to attain. But the Mahāyānistic church has more lofty ideals. It is not Nirvāṇa that all must aim at, not even were it within our reach; we must resign that and placing the happiness of our fellow-creatures above our own, undertake the laborious life of a Bodhisattva, if possible, to become a Buddha who attains the Highest Wisdom and reveals it to the world. This creed of a Bodhisattva-ship open to all believers, puts our own Nirvāṇa as well as that of Çākyamuni into the background. His great deed that attracts all eyes, which we all must undertake to imitate is the teaching of the Creed of Salvation. This was his Task and that of the future Buddha's. After completing this task Çākyamuni as his life-story shews us, disappeared into the Nirvāṇa. This was of course quite possible, even though soon the idea that Nirvāṇa was not a reality seemed more worthy of this exalted being, so that the reverence paid to the Buddha began to resemble the worship of a living God. But with regard to the Task itself that was now completed, the extinction of the Master was no more of any importance. In this way the result of one of the fundamental principles of the Mahāyāna was the inevitable neglect of Çākyamuni's Parinirvāṇa and the omission of its representation brings us to the conlusion that the sect who founded Barabuḍur followed the creed described above in a logical and consistent manner.

As far as I am aware of only one attempt has been made to define the Buddhism of Barabuḍur and that is by Foucher. He draws attention [1]) to the fact that four of the tales in the bottom row on the chief wall of the first gallery have been identified from the Divyāvadāna, a work that is known to be mostly borrowed from the Vinaya-piṭaka of the Mūlasarvāstivādin's [2]). From a Chinese source we know that the Lalitavistara belongs to this same school [3]). Then the Chinese traveller I-tsing in about 700 AD states that the Mūlasarvāstivādanikāya was the almost generally accepted creed in the islands of the Southern Ocean[4]).

[1]) Notes d'archéologie bouddhique, Bull. Ec. Franc. d'Extr. Or. 9 (1909) p. 42 sq.

[2]) See Huber, Les sources du Divyāvadāna, Bull. Ec. Franç. d'Extr. Or. 6 (1906) p. 1—3; Lévi, Les éléments de formation du Divyāvadāna, T'oung Pao, 2 : 8 (1907) p. 105—122.

[3]) Beal, The Romantic Legend of Çākya Buddha (1875) p. 386 sq.

[4]) A Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago, translated by J. Takakusu (1896) p. 10.

This, in Foucher's opinion, authorizes the supposition that in Java the canons of *this* school were most generally practised.

The Mūlasarvāstivādin's are originally Hīnayānistic, but this is no great objection, as it appears that in I-tsing's time the same school held in one place the Hīnayāna and in another the Mahāyāna form of creed[1]). But there is a definite objection in another statement by I-tsing that the Hīnayāna was chiefly adhered to in the islands of the Southern Ocean, with the exception of Malayu where there were a few Mahāyānists [2]). As far as applies to Java in the time of Barabuḍur, this is certainly wrong. No trace of Hīnayāna has been found in any of the Middle Javanese Buddhist sanctuaries, on the contrary there are numerous indications of Mahāyāna. It is not easy to believe that I-tsing who though he never came to Java, spent several years in Sumatra, was misinformed and I think it very probable that a change took place after his stay in the Archipelago. This is confirmed by chronological evidence; the oldest dated Buddhist temple in Java is about eighty years after I-tsing. Perhaps the few Mahāyānists of Malayu having increased in numbers had a hand in the business; Malayu, in those days the name of the present Djambi in Sumatra, had become politically dependant on the rising kingdom of Çrīvijaya in Palembang [3]) whose kings evidently encouraged the Mahāyāna in Java as well, so that the originally predominating Hīnayāna [4]) was entirely supplanted. However it may be, I-tsing's statement that only Hīnayāna was practised, does not apply to Java in the time of Barabuḍur, and if we are obliged to reject this information then there is every reason not to accept unreservedly the information regarding the Mūlasarvāstivādin's that is evidently connected therewith. [5])

An equally-inadequate proof is the reference to the Lalitavistara,

[1]) See Takakusu's Preface p. XXII sq.

[2]) L.l. p. 10 sq., see also p. 14. The first part of the statement agrees with that of Tāranātha (p. 264 = 200), who relates that on the small islands, among them Yavadvīpa and Suvarṇadvīpa, there were exclusively Çrāvaka's, i. e. Hīnayānists.

[3]) Comp. Coedès, Le royaume de Çrīvijaya, Bull. Ec. Fr. d'Extr. Or. 18, 6 (1918) and Ferrand, L'empire sumatranais de Çrīvijaya, Journ. As 11 : 20 (1922) p. 1 and 161.

[4]) This oldest Hīnayānistic Buddhism according to a certain tradition was introduced by Guṇavarman who died in 431 and belonged to the Dharmagupta sect; see Pelliot, Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde, Bull. Ec. Franç. d'Extr. Or. 4 (1904) p. 274 sq. and Lévi-Chavannes, Les seize arhat protecteurs de la loi, Journ. Asiat. 11 : 8 (1916) p. 46. Fa Hien in 414 seems to have found almost no Buddhism. See, as regards the change under the political influence of Çrīvijaya, the author's inaugural oration De Sumatraansche periode der Javaansche geschiedenis (1919) p. 23—26.

[5]) As regards this it is very noticeable that what I-tsing relates about the Buddhism of Campā does not agree with the inscriptions, which are Mahāyānistic, while the Chinese scholar mentions two Hīnayānist schools. See Finot in Bull. Ec. Fr. d'Extr. Or. 20, 4 (1920), p. 146 sq.

which though originally Hīnayānistic was adapted to the Mahāyāna [1]) and already existed under other titles in several older sects [2]), not in later times either was it restricted to the Mūlasarvāstivādin [3]); besides on Barabuḍur we discovered that it does not entirely agree with the version known to us. Then as regards the four tales identified from the Divyāvadāna we must remember only *one* of them, the Sudhanakumārāvadāna, agreed completely with the text mentioned; in two, the Rudrāyaṇāvadāna and the Maitrakanyakāvadāna, there were points of difference and the fourth, the Māndhātravadāna even shewed considerable variations [4]); this fact is important to us because on examining the Divyāvadāna tales it appears they agree entirely with the corresponding part of the Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya. On looking further into the place of these tales in the Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya we learn from Lévi's article quoted above that *one* of the four is not found at all in this Vinaya (Maitrakanyaka) and the three others, each taken from a different part of the Vinaya mentioned, appear both in the Chinese and Tibetan translation in a different sequence to that on the monument [5]). Now when of three similar tales in a whole series, two differ (one rather considerably) and besides their mutual sequence is different, I think there is no other conclusion we can come to but that in whatever way the resemblance is to be explained, there can certainly be no question of *direct* derivation from the Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya. Of course all the same the writer of the text followed on Barabuḍur may have borrowed something, among others, from the Vinaya mentioned, just as the editor of that part of the Vinaya in collecting his specimens may have borrowed from an older text which afterwards was to be illustrated on Barabuḍur. But there is no closer connection and it seems to me we are quite unjustified in supposing, on the strength of these few points of agreement, that the Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya was followed in Java.

Therefore I think, taking all together there is not sufficient evidence

[1]) According to Winternitz, Beiträge zur Buddhistischen Sanskritliteratur, Wien. Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde der Morgenl. 26 (1912) p. 242—245 the Lalitavistara is compiled from older and later elements; originally the Buddha biography of the (Hīnayānistic) Sarvāstivādin's, but developed in Mahāyānistic spirit; part of it is founded on the Lokottaravāda.

[2]) Kern, Geschiedenis van het Buddhisme in Indië II (1884), p. 405.

[3]) It belongs to the nine great Vaipulyasūtra's of the Mahāyāna.

[4]) See Vol. I p. 246—275, 282—301, and 304—311.

[5]) At Barabuḍur the series opens with Sudhanakumāra, then comes (with a tale in between) Māndhātar and last with another interval, Rudrāyaṇa. In the Chinese translation (Tokyo edition) the sequence is reversed; in the Tibetan Kañjur, Dul-va, again Sudhanakumāra comes before the two others, but the two last have also changed places. See Lévi pag. 107, 109—111, 113.

left for connecting Barabuḍur with the Mūlasarvāstivādin sect more than any other. We must search in another direction to discover something more about the opinions of the founders of the monument in the hope of being able to define them more exactly.

Let us first see if it is possible to combine the data from the stūpa itself, with others that we get from Java. Examination in this direction shews promise of reward; even if the collection of these data about the Mahāyāna in Java are not of much use to us for Barabuḍur, it will still be worth while to find out something about the views that spread most generally in Java.

In arranging these data we must begin by making a distinct division between the data of the Middle- and the East-Javanese period. The first are of course the most important to our object, not only because they stand nearer to Barabuḍur in time, but also because in this period we have the most chance of hitting on the form of Buddhism as it was imported from India, which would of course be the nearest to what we know of the sects on the continent. In East-Java Buddhism had already lost a good deal of its purity; it was, as we can see specially by the texts, insiduously mixed with Çivaïsm and other indigenous Javanese influence, so that although of course something was left of its original form, it is a much less reliable source for our knowledge of the Mahāyāna *introduced* into Java, the religion that created the Barabuḍur.

The information from Middle-Java is rather scanty; there are no texts at all, we have only the monument itself and a few inscriptions to rely on. But all the data that exist point in the same direction. The oldest-known Buddhist sanctuary in Java, the temple of *Kalasan* founded in 778 is remarkable, being not dedicated to the Buddha but to the exclusively Mahāyānistic Tārā, a fact that should surely be noted in connection with the statement by I-tsing discussed-above. The image of the goddess herself has disappeared as well as the other statues the temple possessed; but fortunately a few Buddha's remain in the niches on the roof and the position of their hands as regards the points of the compass, prove that the system of the Dhyāni-Buddha's was followed on this oldest sanctuary. The Sanskrit inscription of consecration, from which we learn the fact that this temple was dedicated to Tārā, announces in addition that a dwelling āryabhikṣūṇām vinayamahāyānavidām was erected; if more evidence were needed, this is an overwhelming proof that the founders considered themselves followers of the Mahāyāna. The monks who here set up house as we see knew all about the Vinaya, but we should like to have been told which Vinaya

it was! Meantime we might gather from the omission of any further indication that this Vinaya was considered quite a matter of course because only one was followed in Java and only one school was established there [1]).

The vihāra of Sāri probably about the same date as Kalasan, yields no futher information; the statues which stood there have disappeared, and the figures in the reliefs on the outside walls have not yet found satisfactory identification [2]). Both these sanctuaries may be older than Barabuḍur, but the *Mĕndut* must have been erected about the same time and this temple is also important for another reason; it is placed in the immediate neighbourhood of Barabuḍur and appears as a kind of supplement to it [3]); for this reason I shall here give some account of it. The chief figure of the Mĕndut is Çākyamuni preaching; he is depicted making the first revelation of the Creed in the Deer Park of Benares as is to be seen by the cakra between two couching deer on the pedestal on which the throne stands. The Buddha is seated in the middle of the temple chamber between two Bodhisattva's, one of whom is certainly Avalokiteçvara and the other Vajrapāṇi or Mañjuçrī. Above the door that gave entrance to the temple chamber there was the well-known so-called Buddhist confession of faith. In the porch we find on one side a relief shewing the god of riches Kuvera, who also figures elsewhere as keeper of the gate; in the opinion of others this figure is the yakṣa Pāñcika. On the other side is a corresponding female figure, perhaps Hāritī, the converted plague-demon, now a reformed character figuring as goddess of fruitfulness; possibly she is someone else, but a goddess in any case, evidently intended as a spouse for Kuvera. On the outside of the building besides jātaka's and animal-stories on the wings of the staircase and the base of the actual temple, there is a fine series of decorative reliefs round the monument, consisting of a wide panel between two narrower ones, while in front the place of the wide panel is taken up by the projecting front porch whose ornament has disappeared. On the wide panels we see each time a chief

[1]) For the inscription see Brandes in Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. 31 (1886) p. 240—260 and for the temple the author's Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche kunst (2d ed. 1923) I p. 257—264.

[2]) Inleiding p. 264 sq. There is another sanctuary, possibly Lumbung, where the record of the foundation in 782 has been preserved; it begins with an invocation to the Three Jewels, while further according to Brandes images of Buddha, Dharma and Sangha are mentioned If this last statement proves correct — the inscription is not yet published — then we may possibly suppose the Dharma being represented as goddess and Sangha as Bodhisattva (comp. Oldfield, Sketches from Nipal, 1880, II p. 157—161), or according to the later Javanese custom (Sanghyang Kamahāyānikan 53 f., p. 60 and 108) Buddha between Avalokiteçvara and Vajrapāṇi.

[3]) See Vol. I p. 16 sq.

figure between two followers with some worshippers in the air. On the back wall of the temple the chief figure is the Bodhisattva Avalokiteçvara standing, in his four-armed shape; on both side-walls it is a seated goddess. The first is eight armed, holding mostly terrible weapons, the second is four-armed and has only peaceful emblems. The details need not be discussed, we shall only inquire who it is that is here represented. Unfortunately that has not been decided; Brandes thinks she may be Avalokiteçvara's Tārā in two shapes, Foucher two forms of the goddess Cundā. According to my view they are both right in a certain way. Brandes is surely correct in connecting the second figure, rising out of a pond on a lotus-cushion, with the famous story of the birth of Tārā from a tear of compassion Avalokiteçvara let fall upon the earth; it became a pool and from the middle of it Tārā appeared on a lotuscushion. Foucher also correctly remarks that the attributes and position of the hands of these goddesses agree with those given to Cundā in India. The question can be explained as follows: either that in Java the part of Avalokiteçvara's Tārā in her fearful and her beneficent form was assigned to Cundā, or that the Tārā of Java has usurped the aspect and attributes of Cundā; in either case the root of the matter remains the same, there is a combination of Tārā and Cundā. On each side of the wide panels and the projecting porch, as mentioned, there is a narrow panel and on each of these a standing Bodhisattva is portrayed. In these eight figures as already mentioned above [1]), we find a group of the eight famous Great Bodhisattva's which following the pradakṣinā, I named successively Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin, Maitreya, Samantabhadra, Kṣitigarbha, Vajrapāṇi, Mañjuçrī, Akāçagarbha, and Padmapāṇi (now missing). Bearing in mind that the last-named has only a hypothetical character we may sum up the result of our search on the Mĕndut as follows: in the temple-chamber Çākyamuni between Avalokiteçvara and Vajrapāṇi or Mañjuçrī, in the porch Kuvera and Hāritī, on the middle panels of the monument at the back Avalokiteçvara, at the sides Tārā in a beneficent and a terrible form, both having the aspect of Cundā in India; on the side panels, most likely the set of eight Great Bodhisattva's just named [2]).

The Mĕndut gives us by far the most information. The somewhat later

[1]) Pag. 274.

[2]) For this see Brandes, Not. Bat. Gen. 1902 Bijl. XIII; Foucher, Notes etc. p. 46 sq.; the author in Bijdr. Kon. Inst. 74 (1918) p. 419—437 and chapt. VIII of the Inleiding. A different explanation is given by Moens in Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. 59 (1921) p. 529—600.

temple at Tjaṇḍi Sewu must have possessed a large Buddha statue in its principal chamber but it has disappeared like the other images that have adorned the sanctuary. The Buddha's found in and near the adjoining small temples shew us only that the system of Dhyāni-Buddha's was also followed in this group of temples. Among the front-temples only the Southern one, Bubrah, partly remains; it has a few seated Buddha's, according to their mudrā's, Dhyāni-Buddha's; Asu, the East temple, placed in front of the chief-entrance, was to judge by the Kuvera-images found there, evidently dedicated to that god. Sadjiwan and Plaosan belong to the latest sanctuaries of the Middle-Javanese period. From the first of these with its animal-fables and a few loose images we learn nothing more than the fact that the object of worship was a group of three statues with at least one Buddha and that in one of the side niches a Bodhisattva was placed; at *Plaosan* there were three chambers each having a Buddha placed between two Bodhisattva's. A few of the latter still remain, among whom we can recognise Mañjuçrī, Maitreya, Avalokiteçvara, Samantabhadra and — if my arguments as regards the Mĕndut are correct — Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin. Several Dhyāni-Buddha's and Prajñāpāramitā's are also found there [1]).

To sum up therefore, we find in the sanctuaries of Middle-Java that the creed of the Dhyāni-Buddha's was recognised and special honour was paid to Bodhisattva's and Tārā. The loose images confirm this. Among the bronzes as well as many Buddha's there are also Avalokiteçvara, Mañjuçrī, Vajrapāṇi, Maitreya, Tārā, Cundā, Prajñāpāramitā, and some not yet found on our monuments, Halāhala-Lokeçvara, Vajrasattva, Trailokyavijaya, and the goddesses Marīcī, Vajravarāhī and Vasudhārā [2]), in short, the Mahāyānistic pantheon as known in Indian Buddhist iconography, is almost entirely represented. Bronzes of course are not the most reliable material because they are so easy to remove, but the stone images give quite the same Mahāyānistic impression. As well as Dhyāni-Buddha's and Bodhisattva's there are Tārā's; I call special attention to the female figure with the stūpa in its headdress and with an Amitābha-image on a lotus-stalk, a figure that also appears at Prambanan and is represented in the Calcutta Museum [3]) by a Javanese

[1]) Inleiding I p. 274—293; II p. 4—24.

[2]) See Rapp. Oudh. Comm. 1912 p. 1—83; Juynboll, Catalogus Leiden (1909) p. 77—108; Not. Bat. Gen. 1914 p. 179—183; Oudh. Verst. 1915, p. 33—36.

[3]) Anderson, Catalogue and Handbook of the Archaeological Collection in the Indian Museum (1883) II p. 195; IJzerman, Beschrijving der oudheden nabij de grens der residenties Soerakarta and Djogdjakarta (1891) p. 37 and fig. 68.

image of unknown origin. Whether my identification as Uṣṇīṣavijayā [1]) is correct or not, in any case we find already in Middle-Java the products of a very elaborate Mahāyāna.

These are our Middle-Javanese data. The case is different in East Java, because in judging the data found there we have to allow for the centuries of development and degeneration that Buddhism may have undergone in Java. Although we can suppose that the connection with India and Further India was never entirely broken off, there appear as far as we know, no further signs of any new and powerful influence from outside in the religion and culture of Java; on the contrary East Java seems in all respects to be a continuation of the evolution in Middle-Java. As for its Buddhism, one of its chief characteristics I have already remarked, is a movement in the direction of a continually growing syncretism that penetrated the consciousness of the Javanese themselves and became gradually more pronounced. This phase is certainly to be discerned in Middle-Java as well (and also in India and Further India) but it has not yet developed into such a powerful combination of Çivaïsm and Buddhism as that found in East-Java especially during the rule of the kings of Singhasāri and Majapahit. In monumental art this syncretism found expression in the erection of a combined Çivaïtic-Buddhistic sanctuary like king Kṛtanagara's mausoleum at Jajawa, where Çiva was enthroned below and Akṣobhya [2]) above. However important this building may be for the study of Javanese Buddhism in general, in the search of data for the Buddhism of Barabuḍur we need not pause to examine this curiosity which is far-removed from the history of Middle-Java; we must keep our attention fixed on the more purely Buddhist sanctuaries. When we look for the Buddhist remains to be found in East Java, there appears only one temple that merits more detailed examination; the mausoleum built about 1268 for king Viṣṇuvarddhana at Jajaghu in the present-day Tumpang. A couple of other temples which we know or surmise to have been Buddhist, have lost all their images, in the cave of Sela-Mangleng, important in itself, there are only Buddha-figures and a few jātaka's to be recognised. In other parts only one or more Buddhist images are left to shew where a sanctuary has probably stood. Thus Jajaghu is the only temple which we are able to judge as a whole and fortunately we

[1]) Rapp. p. 73.

[2]) Comp. Canto 56 and 57 of the Nāgarakṛtāgama, and p. 282—285 of the author's notes to Kern's edition (1919).

have here before us one of the largest Buddhist foundations and also one of the most important in the East-Javanese period[1]).

The temple of Jajaghu was not dedicated to the Buddha but to Amoghapāça, one of the forms in which the Bodhisattva Avalokiteçvara appears; the deceased monarch was here immortalized as Amoghapāça and figures connected with this Bodhisattva were grouped round the chief-image. It is quite probable that Amoghapāça was looked upon as a being of a higher order than a Bodhisattva; the Nāgarakṛtāgama calls the chief statue of Jajaghu a Jina-image[2]) and Jina is the ordinary name for what we call a Dhyāni-Buddha. Amoghapāça himself was represented eight-armed with the usual image of his spiritual father Amitābha in his headdress. Though it is often difficult to identify Buddhist images, there can be no doubt about those at Jajaghu, the sculptors having preserved the identity of their creations by inscriptions at the back; we see the large statue is marked Bharāla Āryāmoghapāça Lokeçvara and the small image bears its name Bharāla Amitābha on each side of the headdress. Amoghapāça has of course been set up in the temple-chamber; how his companions were arranged is not certain but the principal point is that the four followers ascribed to him in all Buddhist art were all present; Sudhanakumāra, Çyāma-Tārā, Hayagrīva and Bhṛkuṭī, all furnished with inscriptions, their aspect entirely in keeping with what the Indian sādhana leads us to expect. Besides these there were some still smaller figures found; Dhyāni-Buddha's and Tārā's, viz. Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Locanā, Māmakhī and Pāṇḍuravāsinī. We might suppose that all five Dhyāni-Buddha's with the Tārā's belonging to them have been there; however it is pretty certain this was not the case. On the bronze replicas that king Kṛtanagara had made of the statue in his father's mausoleum we see Amoghapāça with his little Amitābha image and his four usual followers and then raised above on lotus cushions, *four* Dhyāni-Buddha's and four Tārā's. Just the same arrangement we find on a stone Amoghapāça made by order of the same Kṛtanagara and sent to his Sumatra tributary state, Malayu; on the pedestal of that statue the god is called caturdaçātmika, therefore "with thirteen companions". It is easy to understand how there are thirteen and why only four pair of Jina's and Tārā's and not five are depicted: the Amitābha in the headdress is reckoned as one of the companions and because one of the Tārā's, the Çyāma-Tārā,

[1]) See Brandes' monograph Tjandi Djago (1904) and Inleiding II p. 95—135.

[2]) Canto 37 : 7. In 41 : 4 the same image is called a "Sugata-image".

already appears among the four followers, it was not necessary to depict her a second time. As we know, the system arranges one Dhyāni-Buddha with one Tārā in pairs; as it happens that Amitābha and Çyāma-Tārā do not belong together, the four others could not be paired off in the way usual in the Nepal system. It is possible that this fact is connected with what we learn from the literature, that an alteration in the system actually took place in Java; so Vairocana and Locanā belong here together which they do not elsewhere.

However it may be, it is evident at Jajaghu, that Amoghapāça was the principal figure and his four usual companions were around him, then that the system of Dhyāni-Buddha's with their Tārā's was familiar, and besides, what is of significance for Barabuḍur, it is a system of five, not six, Dhyāni-Buddha's.

It is not only its images that make Jajaghu important to us; round the terraces of the sanctuary and round the temple itself we find a number of texts illustrated. But in this appears the great difference between Jajaghu and a monument like Barabuḍur, where all the texts illustrated, as was to be expected, are pure Buddhist ones; moreover so far as they have been identified, they are all sacred texts belonging to the canon of the sect or school who founded the sanctuary, demonstrating in their ascending sequence, though perforce inadequately, the tenets of that collection of sacred books most venerated by its founders. Their meaning is so clearly set forth, to lead the mind of the beholder up to higher thought and, as we have noted, the first and chief aim of these illustrations on Barabuḍur is undoubtedly religious. The series of reliefs on Jajaghu on the contrary have distinctly a decorative character; the intention has evidently been to make the sanctuary as beautiful as possible and this was accomplished by depicting suitable tales i. e. tales that fitted into the decorative scheme. The moral of the tales was of less importance and it did not actually matter very much if they were really Buddhist. So Jajaghu gives first some jātaka's or animal-fables and then the legend of Kuñjarakarṇa. The latter is certainly Buddhist — I shall discuss it later — but this appears to be accidental, for what follows is of quite a different sort and illustrates consecutively the Pārthayajña, the Arjunavivāha and (partly) the Kṛṣṇāyaṇa! The selection is extremely neutral; the material taken from the Mahābhārata, in particular the adventures of Kṛṣṇa who was of course an incarnation of Viṣṇu, we might sooner expect to find on a temple dedicated to him than on a Amoghapāça sanctuary. We see here again that however remarkable this phenomenon may be for Javanese Buddhism in general, it throws no

light on the pure Mahāyāna of Barabuḍur. So we pass over the texts at Jajaghu and take only into consideration what we noticed the images of this temple can teach us [1]).

When we come to examine the data gathered from the Buddhist images found loose, we find the state of things agrees mostly with what was observed in Middle-Java. Buddha's, also Dhyāni-Buddha's, are naturally numerous. Bodhisattva's and Tārā's on the other hand are fewer in number and variety; but this is perhaps only accidental seeing that a rare appearance like Vajrasattva, not found in stone at all in Middle-Java, has at least two examples in East-Java [2]). The comparatively-frequent appearance of the Prajñāpāramitā, personification of the Highest Wisdom is remarkable. Among the bronzes we notice that some of the figures well-known in Middle-Java are here missing, while others are found only in East-Java, among them a wonderful eight-armed form of Hayagrīva, on which the horse's head is placed above the head-with-three-faces, a representation which is described in the sādhana's but outside Java had never yet been found in the whole region of Buddhist art. Still more important than these solitary figures are of course the instances of groups of bronzes belonging together; such collections enable us to form a better judgment about the relation and mutual value of the component parts, at least if it is possible to identify them sufficiently. How large was the gap in our knowledge of the Mahāyānistic pantheon, was proved by the remarkable find of bronzes at *Ngandjuk* in Kĕdiri. Nearly a hundred small Buddhist bronzes were there discovered, from their size and style of execution all belonging to one group. The first noticeable fact about this group is that not one "Buddha" is found among them, only Bodhisattva's, gods and goddesses. The next that in that great number only a sadly small part can be recognised, and among the figures identified, familiar Bodhisattva's like Avalokiteçvara and Maitreya do not appear, that is in their usual form. There is one large chief-figure; the others in various sizes are all smaller. Among these Mañjuçrī (with book and sword), Vajrasattva and Ratnāpāṇi are certainly identified and very likely Khagarbha and Sarasvatī as well. All the rest we can only guess at; but most of them were too strange to us even for that. It is not worth while to describe all these unknown beings. Besides the remarkable fact of our ignorance of so many of the group, we must note the peculiarity

[1]) For the literature about Jajaghu see the two works given in note 1 on page. 295.

[2]) See p. 155 note 5.

that the vajra and the so-called viçvavajra, the crossed vajra, appear very frequently. The chief-figure too is holding a vajra in front of his breast with both hands; the pedestal is ornamented with vajra's and the half-body of a lion protrudes from the front of it. This lion and the Brahmā-like four faces of the Bodhisattva seem to suggest his being a form of Mañjuçrī, even though it is not as yet possible to call him by his special designation. So the collection of bronzes found at Ngandjuk seems to consist of a group of still-unknown Bodhisattva's and suchlike beings as attendants on a supreme being in the form of Mañjuçrī [1]). The high rank bestowed on him is not specially Javanese; the same thing appears in Nepal as well [2]).

We can in general assume from what is found in Jajaghu as well from the loose statues and bronzes, that in East-Java, the same as in Middle-Java, the worship of Bodhisattva's (and Tārā's) was very much to the fore and that the system of the (five) Dhyāni-Buddha's remained in practice. The bronze-find at Ngandjuk points specially to the important part played by a manifestation of Mañjuçrī and the preference shewn to vajra emblems.

In Middle-Java there was no literature by which the evidence of monuments and sculpture could be tested, but in East-Java the case is different. There are a number of writings, Buddhist-minded, written by Buddhists and some actually promulgating Buddhist opinions. Of these I will discuss concisely the Puruṣādaçānta, Kuñjarakarṇa, and Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan as undoubtedly Buddhist [3]), and the Nāgarakṛtāgama, written by a Buddhist poet, on account of the historic data to be found therein. There are also some inscriptions that may add to our knowledge. On a record as early as 950 if my reckoning is correct, a Buddhist priest is praised as Vairocanātmaka [4]).

[1]) For the bronzes see the two general reviews mentioned on p. 293 note 2, also the articles in Bijdr. Kon. Inst. 67 (1913) p. 383—392; Rapp. Oudh. Dienst 1913 p. 59—72 (on p. 64 the possibility of identifying the chief figure as Dharmadhātu is discussed); Lulius van Goor in Not. Bat. Gen. 1920 p. 81—87.

[2]) Oldfield l.l. p. 185—191; Lévi, Le Nepal (Ann. Mus. Guim. Bibl. d'ét. 17—18, 1905) I p. 330 sqq., II p. 328; Moens in Oudh. Versl. 1918, p. 86—93.

[3]) Besides the works mentioned, Brandes gives (Tjandi Djago p. 98) as pure Buddhist the Vighnotsava and Buddha pamutus, and as shewing traces of Buddhism the Cantakaparva, Tantri-adaptations, Arjunavijaya, Variga and Bubukṣah. I restrict myself to discussing only such works concerning which published data exist.

[4]) Kern, Versl. en Meded. Kon. Acad. v. Wetensch. Afd. Letterk. 2 : 10 (1881) p. 81 and 95; Verspr. Geschr. VII (1917) p. 22 and 34. For the date comp. Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. 56 (1914) p. 477—484.

The *Puruṣādaçānta*, alias Sutasoma [1]), describes the well-known adventures of the Bodhisattva Sutasoma [2]); it was written by Tantular in the reign of Rājasanagara (Hayam Wuruk, 1350—1389) but goes back to an earlier source, the Bauddhakāvya. The poem as was to be expected, is entirely Mahāyānistic; and the word mahāyana (thus spelt) is used with evident predilection. Syncretism is extolled in words that leave no room for doubt. "The god Buddha differs not from Çiva the king of gods" we find on fol. 120a, and again "the nature of Jina and the nature of Çiva are one; they are distinguished and yet the same being" [3]). It is not necessary for our examination to go further into this question of coordination between Çiva and Buddha, but I will call attention to another expression in the same passage: wara-Buddha wiçwa, "the exalted Buddha is the universe". In accordance with this, at the beginning of the poem, Buddha is extolled as Sarwadharmmāngga-rakṣa, "keeper of the whole body of the Law" and declared to be no other than Brahma-Viṣṇv-Īçvara, that is the Hindu Trimūrti. If needed he incarnates himself as a king in the human world in order to break the power of evil; the chief person of the story Sutasoma is such an embodiment, an avatāra it might be said, of the Buddha. Here we have a profound difference to the general opinion elsewhere, that regards Sutasoma as a former incarnation of Çākyamuni; instead of a Buddha elect, a being that is on the way to perfection in the hope of finally attaining Buddhaship, Sutasoma has become a manifestation of the already perfect Buddha, the highest omniscient Being. Possibly in this new aspect we may see suggestions of Brahmanism that found a chance of influencing the syncretism of East-Java to such an extent. But the principle on which this creed is founded, the Buddha considered as the eternal Supreme Being, may very likely have evolved itself gradually from the well-known dogma of the Buddha's eternity that already existed in the Mahāyāna of the continent. In the XVth chapter of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, the Tathāgata himself announces that he has lived already for innumerable aeons, and will continue to live and that Nirvāṇa is but a phantom, a concession to the weakness of humanity [4]). Javanese syn-

[1]) I quote from Kern, Versl. en Meded. Kon. Acad. v. Wetensch. Afd. Letterk. 3 : 5 (1888) p. 8—43; Verspr. Geschr. IV (1916) p. 149—177.

[2]) Comp. Vol. I p. 384—387.

[3]) See Kern, l.l. pag. 37 (Hyang Buddha tanpahi lawan Çiwa rājadewa — Mangkā Jinatwa kalawan Çiwatatwa tunggal, bhinneka tunggal ika; in this way the passage should be corrected).

[4]) Ed. Kern-Nanjio in Bibl. Buddh. X (1908—1912) p. 315—326; trans. Kern in S. B. E. 21 (1884) p. 298—310 and Introduction p. XXV sq.

cretism so as Tantular presents it, does nothing but draw logical conclusions from this creed [1]).

It is remarkable how ingeniously this view of Sutasoma as a revelation of the Buddha as Supreme Being, is combined again with the system of the Dhyāni-Buddha's. It is repeatedly stated that Sutasoma is one with Vairocana [2]). Thus it is clear that Vairocana, the first of the Dhyāni-Buddha's is also regarded as a manifestation of the Supreme Being and must be considered the same as the eternal Buddha incarnated in Sutasoma. In this manner Vairocana can be in a certain sense put on a par with the Trimūrti and that this view is correct we can gather from the fact that the four other Dhyāni-Buddha's are identified with the component parts of the Trimūrti, so that Akṣobhya appears as Içvara, Ratnasambhava as the Creator (Dhātā, i.e. Brahmā), Amitābha as Mahāmara (Mahādeva) and Amoghasiddhi as Viṣṇu [3]). The peculiarity of this arrangement is that Çiva is represented twice, evidently an expedient to fit a set of four into a set of three. This does not leave it quite clear how their mutual relation was adjusted because in another place [4]) they are all five called the Five Pitāmaha's and thus actually connected with Brahmā Pitāmaha. This is also quite correct as the Dhyāni-Buddha's are (indirectly) also Creators. All the same we must not push the mutual coordination too far in this arrangement, for though the four Dhyāni-Buddha's correspond to the members of the Trimūrti, and the Trimūrti as a whole represents Buddha, who again is Sutasoma, it is just Sutasoma's enemy and later convert Saudāsa, who is mentioned as the equivalent of Akṣobhya-Içvara. This however becomes comprehensible if we remember that Saudāsa, the maneating monster, is the same being as Mahākāla, one of Çiva's incarnations, and that Darkness and Death as personified by this same Saudāsa, are inferior to and yet contained in the eternal unfathomable Light, the creative element of the Universe. [5])

Further discussion of these combinations would carry us away from our subject, therefore I refer the inquirer to Kern's masterly review for more information. It is of special importance to us that the Dhyāni-Buddha Vairocana is particularly prominent, appearing as hero-in-chief, incarnation of the highest omniscient Being, guardian of the eternal system of Worlds. No special worship of Bodhisattva's is to be

[1]) For all this consult Kern, p. 32—35.

[2]) Kern, p. 40.

[3]) Fol. 120a; Kern, p. 39.

[4]) Kern ibid.; the place is fol. 44a.

[5]) See Kern p. 36.

noticed; only two names are mentioned and that almost casually. When the converted Saudāsa is about to become a monk, Sutasoma advises him to hold in the element of Vajrapāṇi, the breath, with all steadfastness of mind and to place the Lokeçvara-word and the Çākyamuni-spirit at the head of his meditation[1]); an encouragement to "japa yoga siddhi" in which Vajrapāṇi is only mentioned as lord of the air which by right belongs to his father Akṣobhya, and Lokeçvara's name is evidently only used to indicate the praṇava, the sacred syllable oṃ [2]).

Again in the story of *Kuñjarakarṇa* [3]) we shall next discuss, a prose work dating probably from the twelfth century which has already served us in the examination of the scenes in hell [4]), we find great resemblance to the views held in the Puruṣādaçānta. On the first page Vairocana appears as chief teacher of the Holy Law and he proclaims it to "all the gods"; when these gods are named, we find that beside the guardians of the four winds, they are no other than Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, Amoghasiddhi, Lokeçvara and Vajrapāṇi, thus the four other Dhyāni-Buddha's and the two Bodhisattva's who were the only ones of their kind also mentioned in Sutasoma's story. All these did honour to Vairocana after his proclamation of the Law in his dwelling Bodhicitta and then returned each to his own heaven. To the writer of this work as well, the chief persons in the Buddhist pantheon are the Dhyāni-Buddha's and the two Bodhisattva's named, while Vairocana is acting as Supreme Being.

The story itself is as follows. The yakṣa Kuñjarakarṇa after mortifying himself comes to Vairocana and begs to be instructed in the Law, which is promised to him after he has paid a visit to hell. Kuñjarakarṇa goes there and receives all sorts of information from Yama king of hell, he also sees that a hell-cauldron is being prepared for his friend the vidyādhara Pūrṇavijaya who is expected there in a few days. Filled with horror, Kuñjarakarṇa rushes off to his friend's house and tells him of his coming fate; they then set out together to ask Vairocana for help and protection. First Kuñjarakarṇa is initiated into the Law so that his yakṣa body disappears; then Pūrṇavijaya draws near to the

[1]) Fol. 124b. Tatwa çrī-wara-Bajrapāṇi sira bāyu pĕgĕngĕn i kadhīran ing manah, mwang Lokeçwara-çabda Çākyamuni-citta gawayakĕn i tungtung ing hiḍĕp.

[2]) See in particular Kern p. 40 sq. where in explanation he calls attention to the fact that the praṇava oṃ is the Brahma word, and Lokeçvara among other things is supposed to be brahmasvarūpin.

[3]) Edited by Kern in Verhand. Kon. Acad. v. Wetensch. Afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks III no. 3, (1901).

[4]) See Vol. I p. 71—73.

Lord who initiates him also and then explains that he can not be freed altogether from punishment for his sins, but it shall take another form. He must return to his house and sink into a pure samādhi, upon which after ten days and ten nights his punishment would be fulfilled. This Pūrṇavijaya does; he lays himself down, his soul leaves his body and is thrown into the hell-cauldron. During this he does not neglect his samādhi and when the ten days and nights are completed, by the grace of the Lord, the cauldron is suddenly changed into a kalpataru and his body becomes young and beautiful again, invulnerable to the weapons of the hell-fiends. He explains the affair to Yama and returns to his home; at the same moment he awakes from his ten-day sleep. His first act is to go and pay homage to Vairocana who in reply to a question by Yama relates how this is the result of former incarnations that Pūrṇavijaya and Kuñjarakarṇa have undergone. They both establish themselves at the foot of the Meru and practice mortification and samādhi, till after twelve years they attain the perfect beatitude of siddhaship [1]).

The might and importance of Vairocana in the system of the universe and the power which emanates from the samādhi are thus two points that dominate this story. "Be constant in thy self-mortification" says Yama [2]), "let thy thoughts be steadfast, not subject to change and wandering; such is the exercise of self-mortification". Thus self-mortification is the same as the samādhi. But in another part [3]) it is described as follows: "what is cold must be made colder; that which is hot, hotter; a handful of rice, a drop of water, a grain of salt and even without the taste being satisfied". This agrees with the practice of the yoga, and it need not surprise us to hear Vairocana, who enjoins this penance, entitled Yogīçvara [4]). The initiation into the Law is actually the disappearance of the body's contamination;" a pure mind" is the real divine knowledge [5]). In this sense the pure mind is the same as what is called Bhaṭāra Vidhi, the Ruler of all; "for he directs the true knowledge and therefore he is called the highest knowledge; for the Bhaṭāra rules thy body; as it is said, thou art I and I am thou" [6]). "The root of

[1]) This tale evidently enjoyed great popularity. We have seen that it was depicted on the temple of Jajaghu; there is also a Sundanese version, edited by C. M. Pleyte, in Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. 56 (1914) p. 365—441. Comp. van der Tuuk, Kawi-Balineesch Nederl. Woordenb. s. v. Kuñjara (II p. 329).

[2]) Kern, p. 30.

[3]) l.l. p. 48.

[4]) Kern, p. 38. It is not impossible that this passage was inserted later; comp. ibid. p. 53 note 92.

[5]) l.l. p. 40.

[6]) l.l. p. 38.

the creed", thus concludes Prof. Kern [1]), "is as regards its philosophic part, a monistic pantheism, in which the sovereign Ruler of all, Vidhi, who is also the highest Reason, corresponds to the param Brahma of the Vedānta and the formula" thou art I; I am thou" comes to the same thing as the famous formula tat tvam asi". Such a Buddhism is anything but original and pure, consequently we find, next to familiar Buddhist terms like doṣa, kleṣa, pañcagati, saṃsāra [2]), a theory so radically non-Buddhist as the composition of the body from five ātman's [3]).

The writer of the Kuñjarakarṇa of course also identifies Çiva and Buddha. Buddhapada is the name of the dwelling of the god Mahādeva [4]); and Vairocana himself announces when at a remarkable point he puts the five Dhyāni-Buddha's (here called Sugata's), one by one in a line with one of the Çivaïtic Kuçika's: "We are Çiva, we are Buddha" [5]). He himself is frequently honoured with the cry "Namo Bhaṭāra, namaḥ Çivāya". It is remarkable that the *name* Buddha is hardly ever mentioned and only very seldom the "Buddha" Vairocana is spoken of [6]).

Putting aside various metaphysical and physiological theories, to which it is unnecessary to give attention and some of which are quite Javanese in tone [7]), we may draw from the opinions of the Kuñjarakarṇa that while the Supreme Ruler alias the True Knowledge, corresponds to the human "pure mind", Çākyamuni plays no part at all and the Bodhisattva's a very small one; but on the other hand Vairocana, chief of the Dhyāni-Buddha's is head-teacher of the Law and in his hand the exercise of this Law becomes the practice of the yoga.

After considering these two works, let us now turn to the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*, in order to discover the position of Buddhism in the Javanese community when the Majapahit kingdom was at the height of its power. Here we enjoy the benefit of an absolutely authentic source, for the poet Prapañca who wrote his work in 1365, held the office of dharmmādhyakṣa ring kasogatan, head of the Buddhist clergy. Almost unnecessary to state, the union of Çiva and Buddha — he even speaks of Çiva-Buddha, — is to him an actual fact; to this supreme being he unites whatever is the highest object of worship in every religion, system

[1]) l.l. pag. 16.

[2]) l.l. p. 14 sq.

[3]) Kern, p. 29 and 36, comp. p. 18, where the difference to the Buddhist system of the five skandha's is discussed, as well as the five prāṇa's in Chāndogya-Upaniṣad II, 7, 1.

[4]) l.l. p. 24.

[5]) l.l. p. 38.

[6]) See Kern, p. 15.

[7]) See Kern, p. 18 sq.

or sect known to him, and as earthly representative of this exalted combination, he acclaims king Rājasanagara. All this we are told in the first verses of the first canto. The Ruler of the Universe hyang Vidhi, who figures in the previous work, is here also mentioned but only casually as the one who instituted the castes [1]). It also appears that the Dhyāni-Buddha's were acknowledged without further particulars of them being given; the king's father is compared to Ratnasambhava [2]), then in some royal mausolea statues are set up of Amoghasiddhi, Akṣobhya and Vairocana respectively [3]). It does not in any way appear that Vairocana is rated higher than the others, but neither is there any opportunity of bringing him to the front. When the image of Vairocana is mentioned it is stated that this represented Locanā at the same time [4]); thus the Tārā's were evidently well-known, for this Locanā also gives her name to a dharma that was erected during this reign, called Locanapurā [5]). The one who now comes more to the fore than in either of the other two works, is the historic Buddha; he is considered to be still existing and ruler of the world, thus in agreement with what is noted above [6]). Sang hyang Ṣaḍabhijñadhāraka [7]), "the highest being who possesses the six abhijña's" protects the world with his divine majesty [8]); for this reason one of the former kings worships at the feet of çrī-Çākyasingha [9]). The reigning king himself is said to resemble in appearance the son of Çuddhodana just descended from the magnificent Jinapada [10]). Here too certainly Çākyamuni is meant, who is supposed to dwell in that Buddha-heaven.

It is plainly stated that nothing is more important in the practice of Buddhism than yoga. The king's grandmother is "utsāheng yoga buddhasmaraṇa ginĕng irān cīwarī wṛddhamuṇḍī" [11]), "zealous in the yoga and meditation on the Buddha, which she performed as an old nun in the conventual dress," a striking instance of a royal person renouncing the world, such as was not unusual at that period. Pūjā, yoga and samādhi are the things to which the Buddhist-minded

[1]) Canto 84: 4.
[2]) Canto 3: 2.
[3]) Canto 48: 3; 56: 2 and foll.; 43: 6.
[4]) Canto 43: 6.
[5]) Canto 82: 2.
[6]) See p. 299.
[7]) Called elsewhere Sarvajña (64: 3).
[8]) rumakṣang loka dewaprabhū; 43: 1.
[9]) Canto 43 : 2.
[10]) Canto 84 : 3.
[11]) Canto 2 : 1.

king Kṛtanagara devotes himself, with a view to the welfare of the whole world [1]). At a great çrāddha-offering the sacred Puṣpa is summoned by yoga (yinoga, as written) and this result is the consequence of dhyāna, samādhi and siddhi [2]), the last word pointing to the practice of magic. Thus at the end of the poem it is stated that the practice of the lessons from the Mahāmuni consists in the exercise of asceticism, by which the senses are subdued [3]).

In the same way the Mahāyānistic saint Bharāḍa is entitled yogīçvara; further on he is "wodha ring atītādikālāpagĕh", "skilled in the knowledge of the periods of which the first is the past" and pĕgat ning tantra, "accomplished in the learning of the Tantra" [4]). Tantra by itself may of course mean nothing more than a text-book; but here we are justified in considering it as the creed known as Tantrism or Mantrayāna. On a inscription of 1289 this same Bharāḍa is called mahāyogīçvara, he is said to have attained the jñānasiddhi, "the perfect higher knowledge", he is entitled siddhācārya, "master of magic" [5]), and it appears he can walk on the water and fly through the air. In other parts it is not so clear what is meant by tantra; an old scholar is called tantragata [6]), which may mean his learning in the textbooks just as much as in the Tantra-creed; so we might wonder if in another part [7]) "sang wiku boddha-tantra" will not just mean simply, monks of the Buddhist creed. But further on a maṇḍala is spoken of, in which they are standing and this is the current phrase for "magic circle", their chief is imbued "ring çāstra tantratraya", with the creed of the three tantra's [8]), and the ceremony appears to consist of mudrā, mantra and japa, "gestures of the hand, magical formulas and murmured prayers."

Tantristic influences can also be traced in the frequent use of the word vajra in names. Içānabajra, Bajraka, Bajrāsana, Bajrapura, Bajralakṣmī, Joyānabajra, are all names of places that appear in the poem. And when a list of sanctuaries is given [9]), another remarkable thing is to be noted:

[1]) Canto 43 : 3.

[2]) Canto 64 : 5.

[3]) Canto 95 : 2—3.

[4]) Canto 68 : 2.

[5]) Kern in Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. 52 (1910) p. 100 and 103, Verspr. Geschr. VII (1917) p. 190 and 192; comp. the same in Bijdr. Kon. Inst. 68 (1913) p. 410, V. G. VIII (1918) p. 73, and Poerbatjaraka in Bijdr. 78 (1922) p. 432 foll. The Siddhayogīçvara above all is elsewhere Avalokiteçvara (see Nīlakanthadhāraṇī, Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc. 1912 p. 643).

[6]) Canto 69 : 1.

[7]) Canto 64 : 3.

[8]) The three kinds of tantra are kriyā-, caryā- and yoga-tantra.

[9]) Canto 76 : 3.

first we get the dharmma kasogatan kawinayan, the free monasteries of the regular Buddhist clergy, who keep the strict rules of the Vinaya, but afterwards follow the kasugatan kabajradharan [1]). As Kern [2]) rightly observes, this can be nothing else than the followers of the Tantristic Vajrayāna, the secular clergy who are called in Nepal and Tibet vajrācārya's. The same difference between two kinds of Buddhist sanctuaries also applies to Bali [3]).

Finally some important points are touched on, where the poet describes the history of king Kṛtanagara (1268—1292). [4]) First he relates that this king, known from other sources to be a zealous Buddhist, underwent a Jina-consecration (jinābhiṣeka), at which he received the name of Jñānabajreçvara [5]). We cannot tell exactly what was meant by such a consecration, but evidently the monarch was identified in some way or other with the Jina's or Dhyāni-Buddha's; at any rate during his life a statue of him was set up in the form of Akṣobhya [6]). The name is found on inscriptions with slight variations Jñānaçivabajra, Jñāneçvarabajra, but bajra is never missing from it. On the before-mentioned bronze replicas of the Amoghapāça statue in his father's mausoleum, where the king styles himself in addition: pravaramahāyānayāyinaḥ paramaratnopāsakaḥ, "follower of the excellent Māhāyana, lay-brother of the Highest Jewel," the name Jñānavajra is even placed among the king's titles [7]).

Another important point is the statement that the king specially devoted himself to the study of a tantra Subhūti [8]). Probably we here have to do with a very authoritative text belonging to the school then followed in Java, that would possibly prove of valuable assistance, did we but know what is meant by this Subhūti-tantra. We must not look for any connection with the Prajñāpāramitā, although Subhūti, Çākyamuni's disciple is there the speaker; this becomes clear when in the introduction to the Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan, next to be discussed, we find a sang hyang tantra bajradhātu Subhūti is quoted. It is evident that *this* Subhūti-tantra is the work in which Kṛtanagara was absorbed and the

[1]) Canto 77: 1.

[2]) Bijdr. Kon. Inst. 69 (1914) p. 37; or p. 175 of ed. 1919.

[3]) Canto 80 : 1. Bajradhara's form here the majority.

[4]) On king Kṛtanagara's Buddhism see now Moens in Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. 64 (1924) p. 521—558.

[5]) Canto 43 : 2.

[6]) The statue, on whose pedestal is the above-mentioned inscription of 1289. See note 5 on preceding page and the articles there mentioned.

[7]) Speyer, Versl. en Meded. Kon. Acad. v. Wetensch. Afd. Lett. 4 : 6 (1904) p. 255 and 257.

[8]) Canto 43 : 3.

addition of bajradhātu sufficiently indicates its tantristic character; besides on examining the contents of the Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan it also appears that the views therein extolled are not those of the Prajñāpāramitā [1]). Subhūti does not seem to appear as a person in the tantra, but to be the author thereof; we might think of Dhārmika Subhūti to whom three works in the Tañjur are ascribed [2]) if it were not that as far as we can judge, nothing of a tantristic nature is found there. On the other hand Tāranātha speaks of an ācārya Subhūtipāla, who was a teacher of yogatantra's in Bhangala and whose more famous pupil Anandagarbha was skilled in all kinds of siddhi [3]). Such a person (even if not the same one) we should like to connect with the Javanese work.

The *Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan* as published by Kats, consists of two parts that each form a separate tract; the first is further discussed by Speyer in his article: Ein altjavanischer mahāyānistischer Katechismus [4]). This first part consists of a connected series of Sanskrit strophes with a more or less elaborate old-Javanese commentary attached; at the end Sang hyang Kamahāyānan Mantranaya is given as the title. By this is evidently meant what is called in the verses mantrācāryanaya, and generally known as the Mantrayāna. The second part, a real catechism in Old-Javanese with a few quotations from the Sanskrit of a much less pure sort, belongs as the contents prove, to the same school as the first part. The distinction between the original Mahāyāna and the Mantrayāna (also called Vajrayāna or Tantrayāna) is this: the first exhorts every believer to take the Bodhisattva vow with the aim of finally in the distant future along a tedious difficult road attaining Buddha-ship; while the second points out that this ideal may be achieved in the present life by means of incessant yoga, as well as worship of the Buddha's and implicit obedience to the guru. This transition is accounted for by the Buddha-idea being gradually merged — the symptoms we have already clearly discerned — into the idea of the Supreme Being as Spirit of the Universe [5]). It does not alter the matter that for the attainment of the ideal the old terminology of the realm of nirvāṇa remained in use [6]).

[1]) On the other hand in Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. 61 (1922) p. 257 foll. Dr. Bosch considers there is reason for identifying the Subhūti-tantra with the Vajracchedikāprajñāpāramitā.

[2]) For this see Thomas, The works of Āryaçūra, Triratnadāsa, and Dhārmika-Subhūti, Album Kern (1903) p. 407 sq. Thomas offers the supposition that this scholar may be the same as the one whom Hiuen Tsiang met and who belonged to the Mahāsaṅghika's.

[3]) Page 226 (172). See also Journ. Buddh. Text Soc. I (1893) p. 22.

[4]) Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch. 67 (1913) p. 347—362.

[5]) See Speyer l.l. p. 351.

[6]) Fol. 9b, p. 18 (nibāṇanagara); 24a, p. 30 (nirbāṇapura).

Here of course, is not the place for any extensive treatment of this work, although it is of such particular importance to our knowledge of Javanese Buddhism. I must restrict myself to a short survey of the contents with special reference to what is of most value to our examination.

I shall instruct you in the Mahāyāna according to the method of the Mantrācārya's. By the knowledge of this "vajra", this highest mantra-rule, did all Buddha's past or future attain omniscience and Çākyasingha by the power of these mantra's put Māra the Evil one to flight. Therefore do thou also strive to gain omniscience; follow this path, then shalt thou belong to the Tathāgata's, the self-created (svayambhū). For thee, if thou art faithful to thy vow, shall the vajra-water be changed into vajra-amṛta-water of magic power that leads to the height of perfection. The sacred vajra, bell and mudrā must thou keep secret and reveal only unto him that knoweth the magic circle (maṇḍala). The vow thou hast taken upon thee hath the power of the vajra and is called "Vajrasattva"[1]; through this shall the vajrajñāna called Highest Wisdom enter into thy being. Vajrasattva himself the All-seeing one, shall open thine vajra eye[2]). Behold the sacred maṇḍala!, now art thou born into the kindred of the Buddha's, equiped with all the mantra's; all magic, every state of perfection lies within thy grasp. Hold fast to thy vow, exercise thyself in magic incantations, in the murmuring of prayers and worship (mantra, japa, pūjā). The Jina's have removed the scales of ignorance from thine eyes, thou art prepared by Bhaṭāra Vajradhara. Learn that the dharma's (the world of appearances) are unsubstantial. Vajrasattva, the pure, the highest of all Buddha's rules in thy heart; from this time forth, set thou Vajradhara's Wheel of Law in motion before all people. Doubt not, reveal the most exalted method of the mantrācārya's, all vajradhara's (the annotator says, Vajrasattva) preserve thee. For him who possesseth the Highest Wisdom is nothing forbidden; therefore enjoy the pleasure of thy senses — the commentator says just the opposite and forbids this. Thou hast seen and entered the sacred maṇḍala; now art thou pure and freed from all sin. Be ever faithful to thy sacred vow, maintain the Bodhicitta (the Bodhisattva-vow) which through the mudrā hath become vajra; by the power of its creation thou shalt indoubtedly become

[1]) Vajra and bell are also Vajrasattva's attributes in sculpture; see above, p. 155.

[2]) Also Waddell, The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism (1895) p. 145: the doctrine of the Buddhaship being attainable in this life of the body, is said to be proclaimed by "the fictitious Buddha, Vajrasattva".

a Buddha. Though thou must sacrifice thine own will, do not subdue it by self-mortification, bear in mind that it is a future Buddha. Vajra, bell and mudrā must thou never forsake, nor be disobedient to thy teacher, for he, the vajrācārya, is equal with all Buddha's. Shew thyself ever dutiful to the teacher, serve him in all things, with money and possessions, thy wife and child, thy life if need be. For he it is who hath brought the Buddha-ship within thy reach during thy mortal life, that were otherwise only attainable after the toil of countless aeons. This day thy birth is accomplished, thou art elected king of kings by all Buddha's and vajra-bearers; to-day thou hast overcome Māra and attained thy Buddha-ship. Be faithful to thy vows and walk in the ways of the Mantranaya; now and forever art thou become equal with all Buddha's.

This is the first part of the text. The second does not lend itself so easily to a concise summary. It begins with some instructions for the conduct of the adept, in which we again note the order prohibiting self-mortification, a well-cared-for body is better suited for the samādhi that brings salvation. The buddharṣi's, the hermits, are distinguished from the upāsaka's, the lay-brothers. The aji to be followed for the attainment of Buddha-ship is further taught in the form of a dialogue. The six pāramitā's are then discussed at full length (the well-known group of dāna, çīla, kṣānti, vīrya, dhyāna and prajñā), and in treating the çīla and vīrya-pāramitā it is related consecutively what must be done by kāya, vāk and citta. It then appears that all kinds of pūjā, muttered prayers, exercise of yoga, pronouncing of mantra's, meditation on the salvation of all creatures etc., is meant thereby, while the contents of the prajñā-pāramitā is shewn as the dogma of the çūnyatā. To these six four other pāramitā's are added, the states of mind known elsewhere as bhāvanā; they are maitrī, karuṇā, muditā and upekṣā [1]). The six and four together form the ten pāramitā's and these are personified in the five devī's: Bajradhātvīçvarī, Locanā, Māmakī, Pāṇḍaravāsinī and Tārā. The six pāramitā's are ascribed to the first mentioned, to the others, each one of the four. After the ten pāramitā's as principal means towards the higher Wisdom, comes the Mahāguhya, declared to be "the means of meeting the Lord", that consists of yoga and bhāvanā, each of four kinds. The yoga on the authority of Dignāga is divided into mūla-, madhya-, vasāna- and anta-yoga, the bhāvanā into çastī-, uṣmi-, ūrddha- and agra-bhāvanā, by which every time one of the bhāvanā's leads to one of the yoga's. Next come the well-known four āryasatyāni,

[1]) The definition of the first named virtue is: "The love of thy fellow creatures without thought of advantage therefrom, is called maitrī" (fol. 36b, comp. p. 93).

very shortly treated of and then it is stated that yoga, bhāvanā, the four āryasatyāni and the ten pāramitā's make up the Mahāguhya. Finally there is the Paramaguhya, the embodiment of the Lord, the Bhaṭāra Viçeṣa and this exalted secret creed is expounded in the rest of the work. The aji called yogacara, refers to advaya and advaya-jñāna, the knowledge that has no doubt concerning being and not-being with the mystic syllables aṃ aḥ. The combination of advaya and advaya-jñāna creates Divarūpa, thus the advaya, otherwise aṃ aḥ, is the same as the father of Bhaṭāra Buddha, the advaya-jñāna is the goddess Prajñā-pāramitā, the Buddha's mother and Divarūpa is the Buddha himself. The short epitome of aṃ aḥ and advaya-jñāna is contained in the aji advaya and this aji is the quintessence of aji tarkka (or prakaraṇa) and aji vyākaraṇa. Of these two last the aji tarkka gives knowledge of the advaya-jñāna alias Prajñāpāramitā, the aji vyākaraṇa of the advaya, aṃ aḥ. Their combination causes the aji tantra to appear, the embodiment of the Buddha. This theory is made clearer by directions for pronouncing these two mystic syllables and an argument on the name of the Supreme Being, here called Viçeṣa, among various religions and sects. Through advaya and advaya-jñāna the body of the believer becomes "as bright as day", it has then become Divarūpa, the embodiment of the Deva Viçeṣa. The attainment of the Buddha-ship is thus here clearly explained as union with the Universal Spirit. The means for acquiring advaya and advaya-jñāna, which last is also called bajra-jñāna, are then further expounded. Seven kinds of samādhi (jambhala-, vāgīç-vara-, lokeçvara-, vajrasattva-, munivaracinṭāmaṇi-, çvetaketu- and kumāranirbāṇa-samādhi) are enumerated and further the letters of the alphabet as well as the formula namaḥ siddhaṃ connected with various parts of the body.

Another description of the samādhi's mentions five different sorts of breathing, that are named after the five Dhyāni-Buddha's. The breathing on the right and left side causes four chief-maṇḍala's to appear viz. — the text is not quite distinct but the meaning is clear — the three-cornered, red, agni-maṇḍala, with a trident in the middle; the square, golden-yellow (or white) mahendra-maṇḍala, with five vajra's (or one vajra) in the middle; the shapeless, black, green and yellow vāyu-maṇḍala with a banner as emblem, and the round, white varuṇa-maṇḍala with a small maṇḍala in the middle as pure rock crystal. Then finally the motionless breathing, the pure and formless parama-viçeṣa, is called Vairocana-samādhi. At this point the pupil asks the question: Divarūpa is called the embodiment of Buddha, how then can

other paṇḍita's consider the Ratnatraya and the five Tathāgata's to be the embodiment of Buddha? This point is explained in a very remarkable way. Out of the body of the white-coloured Çākyamuni who assumes the dhvaja-mudrā, appears from the right side the red Lokeçvara in dhyāna-mudrā; from the left the blue Vajrapāṇi in bhūḥsparça-mudrā. Three-in-one they form the Ratnatraya and the two last become respectively Dharma and Saṅgha. Lokeçvara again divides into Akṣobhya and Ratnasambhava; Vajrapāṇi into Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi, while from Çākyamuni's face springs Vairocana. Here we have the five Tathāgata's and Vairocana further gives life to the gods, Içvara, Brahmā and Viṣṇu. The meening of the five Tathāgata's is then set forth and they are brought into relation with the five skandha's (rūpa, vedana, saṃjñā, saṃskāra, vijñāna), five bīja's (mystic sounds, i. e. aḥ or auṃ, hūṃ, traṃ, hrīḥ, aḥ), the trikhala (rāga, dveṣa, moha), the trimala (artha, kāma, çabda), the trikāya, (kāya, vāk, citta), the triparārtha (asih, puṇya, bhakti), the five elements (earth, water, fire, wind, aether), the five forms of skandha (kalala, arvuda, ghana, peçi, praçākha) and five kinds of insight (çāçvata-, or niṣprapañca-, adarçaṇa- or prabhāsvara-, ākāçamata- or grāhyagrāhakarahita-, pratyavekṣaṇa- or sarvadharmanairātmya- and kṛtyañca- or kṛtyānuṣṭhāna-jñāna). In one of these cases as already noted [1]), Vajrasattva appears in the Sanskrit verse, but this name is left out in the old-Javanese text and replaced by Akṣobhya. Finally the five devī's, just-mentioned, are further discussed and each of them ascribed to one of the Tathāgata's; it is expressly stated that Dhātvīçvarī and Locanā are one being and the devī's are therefore only four in number; as assistants to Vairocana they are named Satvavajrī, Ratnavajrī, Dharmavajrī and Karmavajrī. Each also has her bīja and as meaning one of the four previously-mentioned pāramitā's, maitrī, karuṇā, muditā and upekṣā. This is the Paramaguhya of the Tathāgata's: the mahābodhi, samādhi, all the mudrā's, mantra's, yoga's, bhāvanā's and wisdom (kavicakṣaṇam) are the embodiment of the four devī's and the yogīçvara will not find the Buddha if he has not achieved the embodiment of the four devī's. Here endeth the whole text.

It certainly is quite unnecessary to argue by means of this summary that the Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan is a real tantristic work. Even without its literally revealing itself as the method of the Mantrācārya's, no doubt would be admissable because its whole exposition sets forth

[1]) See page 158.

the Buddha-ship as being attainable in this life by means of pūjā, japa and the mantra's; the terminology too, as far as we know it, is tantristic on the whole. We have in fact no need to question its genuine tantristic elements, but we may for a moment consider whether we here have to do with views generally accepted in Java, or if, — as in itself is quite possible — this work might perhaps be the product of a school that is outside the pale of real Javanese Buddhism. It might for instance in this form be an adaptation from the Sanskrit for the purpose of propaganda in a new creed that failed to meet with success and chance might have preserved this foreign imported text, while the genuine authoritative texts of the Javanese Mahāyāna were lost to us. This last supposition may theoretically be justifiable, but how incorrect it would be is most plainly proved by what we have already collected from other courses regarding the Buddhism of East Java. Let us recall the Nāgarakṛtāgama, that commentary on the living Buddhism practised when the Majapahit kingdom was at the height of its power; we not only found the vajradhara's, but the whole terminology is that of the Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan and we are doubly fortunate in the fact that the author of this poem occupied the post of head of the Buddhist clergy; to this we owe the certainty that all these terms are used in their right place and with their correct meaning. A writer who was merely a poet might easily have deprived us of these specially Buddhist data; here they are not only presented to us, but their authenticity is guaranteed by the official position of the author I shall not repeat the points of interest, already noted to be found chiefly in the description of the Çrāddha and the reign of king Kṛtanagara but refer to what is said above on the subject; I must however point out how much clearer many things in the poem become when viewed in the light of the Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan. To begin with, the opening strophes and their, at first sight, rather strange enumeration of all sorts of names by which the Supreme Being is known in various sects; this list now appears almost in the same form in the Kamahāyānikan [1]). The second canto praises the Buddhasmaraṇa of the king's grandmother, also a term found in the text [2]). And so it continues. We need not be surprised that king Kṛtanagara chose to exercise tarkka and vyākaraṇa, these are just the two aji's which in the catechism together create the aji tantra [3]). In short, in every respect, the Buddhism

[1]) Nāg. canto 1 : 1—2; S. h. Kam. fol. 44, p. 50.
[2]) Nāg. 2 : 1; S. h. Kam. fol. 44a, p. 49.
[3]) Nāg. 43 : 2; S. h. Kam. fol. 42b—43a, p. 46.

of the Nāgarakṛtāgama agrees with that of the Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan.

This also applies to the other works mentioned above, although with them there was less cause for it being apparent But what is found there of the views most prominent, also agrees entirely with the system unfolded in the Kamahāyānikan, especially what is set forth on the being of the Dhyāni-Buddha's, the mention of the two Bodhisattva's Lokeçvara and Vajrapāṇi, and the prominent place given to Vairocana, who we saw in the catechism figures as creator of the gods. All this breathes the spirit of the Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan, thus of Tantrism. The images of the great sanctuary at Jajaghu, Amoghapāça and his companions, correspond exactly with this and it can be added that some of the mystic syllables mentioned in the text, have been found inscribed on tablets of gold [1]).

In short, unless all the signs deceive us, it can be stated with certainty that the Mahāyāna of East Java, during the palmy days of the Majapahit kingdom, is no other than the Tantrism of the Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan.

But what about the earlier periods? Three centuries before the Nāgarakṛtāgama, king Airlangga was reigning and under his rule lived the famous saint Bharāḍa, and we have already heard [2]), how he was celebrated on an inscription of 1289 as a master of siddhi and yoga. On the same inscription we read, that he divided the Javanese kingdom into two parts, and how he performed this — the details are not very clear [3]) — by means of kumbhavajrodaka. Vajrodaka we met with as a technical term in the Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan [4]). It may of course be true that what we know of Bharāḍa all comes from later sources and therefore gives no certainty about the condition of things in Airlangga's time; on the other hand it may surely be regarded as improbable that everything handed down to us about the tantristic magical powers of this historic figure, is altogether unfounded.

We can go back still further. In the introduction to the Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan to be found in only one manuscript [5]), the work is connected with a Javanese king, who fortunately belongs to the best-known monarchs of the inscriptions. He is king Siṇḍok, by his abhiṣekaname çrī Içāna, who must have ruled at least from 929 to 947. There-

[1]) Brandes in Groeneveldt, Catalogue Batavia (1887), p. 226.

[2]) See p. 305.

[3]) Comp. pag. 291 sq. of the author's Notes on the Kern edition of the Nāgarakṛtāgama.

[4]) Fol. 12b, p. 20.

[5]) See on p. 118 sq. of Kats' edition.

fore if the statement in the introduction is correct, the period of Javanese Tantrism is brought up in any case to the beginning of the tenth century [1]). Unexpectedly this is in a way confirmed by evidence from Further India, where in an inscription on the occasion of the foundation of sanctuaries in 908 and 911 it is recorded that two pilgrimages to Java, Yavadvīpapura, were undertaken to learn the siddhiyātrā, which is magic [2]). This quite proves how the practice of magic flourished in the island already in those times and although the magic is not actually spoken of as Buddhist (the sanctuaries founded are Çivaïtic as well as Buddhist), we may certainly consider that Buddhism will have had its share therein.

The mention of Sindok is also remarkable in another respect because he has lived at the court of the last king who appears to have ruled over both East and Middle Java [3]). With him begins the period of East Java's glory which was at the same time just the close of the Middle-Java period. Thus with the name of Sindok the question arises: in how far can the Tantrism connected with that name by the Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan be ascribed to Middle-Java as well.

First we consider that in East Java the texts were able to put us in the right direction and that the images and remains there found agreed with them, yet had these been our only source of information we should not have had sufficient evidence to recognise the Buddhism represented by these remains. Compared to this it is no wonder how poorly we are equiped for the search in Middle-Java where no texts at all have been preserved. It was possible, as already stated, to find connection to a certain extent between the images etc. of East Java and their representation in Middle Java, and this co-incidence points somewhat to a continuous series, not to any new influence from outside. Among the small figures in Middle Java, there are some of distinct Tantristic learning to be found, as for instance the Trailokyavijaya and similar ones. Perhaps more positive indication in this direction is the fact that on the Mĕndut sanctuary, if I am right [4]), the group of the eight Great Bodhisattva's is depicted. In his study of the Bodhisattva Ti-tsang (Kṣitigarbha) in China and Japan [5]), De Visser has also given his attention to these eight

[1]) Gorris, Bijdrage tot de kennis der Oud-Javaansche en Balineesche theologie (1926) p. 151–156 has made a successful attempt to ascribe portions of this work to an even older period.

[2]) Huber, Etudes indochinoises XII, Bull. Ec. Franç. d'Extr. Or. 11 (1911) p. 303 and 309.

[3]) Not without importance to the subject we have under examination, is the fact that this monarch writes Bāhubajra among his titles.

[4]) See p. 228.

[5]) Ostasiatische Zeitschrift 2 (1913—14), p. 189—196.

Great Bodhisattva's, and he thereby observes that the regular list of the same eight he so far has only found in sūtra's of the tantric school and although the appearance of a group of eight in the cave-temples of Elurā seems to indicate a general Mahāyānistic view, the Tantra school at any rate made a special propaganda of them, and in the Lamaistic church the Eight Bodhisattva's held an important position [1]). What is generally called the Tantra-school, as we shall see, in all respects agrees with the practice of the Yogācārya's; it is not always possible to separate them clearly, but even with the inadequate proofs we possess, it is at once apparent that we have to do with a continuous development or evolution from Asaṅga to the present day Lamaism. The Mantranaya of Java is of course not a spontaneous system, as is plainly to be seen from the Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan itself, where its origin from the tenets of the Yoga-school is acknowledged. We have already met with the term aji yogacara [2]), but still more important is the point of ḍang ācāryya çrī Di(g)nāgapāda being cited as authority for the classification of the yoga [3]). I have already noted above [4]) that the name of Asaṅga's famous disciple (of whose pupil it is told [5]) how after being professor in Nālandā, he betook himself to Suvarṇadvīpa), is perhaps an indication of the way in which the Mahāyāna came to Sumatra and from there to Java [6]); here we must lay special emphasis on the fact that for our fundamentally tantristic Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan, the influential authority, actually the only one mentioned in the whole work, is the great fifth-century logician of the ancient Yoga school.

Let us add this fact of the Tantra of East Java being derived from the system of Asaṅga and Dignāga, to what has just been stated about the evidently direct connection between the religious ideas of Middle and East Java, and the traces of a Bodhisattva-worship that agrees with Yoga and Tantra-tenets on such a monument as the Mĕndut; we then come to the obvious conclusion that there is every probability Middle-Java Buddhism just as much as that of East Java, ought to be ascribed

[1]) l.l. pag. 194.
[2]) Fol. 41b, p. 47.
[3]) Fol. 40a, p. 45.
[4]) See p. 99.
[5]) Tāranātha, p. 161 (= 124).
[6]) Dignāga must have lived before the sixth century (see Peri in Bull. Ec. Franç. d'Extr. Or. 11, 1911, p. 387) and the activities of his disciple may therefore have preceded the time of I-tsing, who already found some Mahāyānists in Malayu (see p. 288). Sumatra remained in contact with the outside world of Mahāyānists through the pilgrims who visited this island in their journey between China and India. See for instance Chavannes, Les inscriptions chinoises de Bodh-Gayā, Revue de l'Hist. des Rel. 34 (1896) p. 34 and 52.

to a Yoga-school already deeply coloured with Tantric dogma. We can imagine how the creed in a more original, less Tantristic form than that of East Java, was introduced into Middle-Java and during the centuries of its further development on the island shared in the changes which the tenets of the creed underwent on the continent, especially in the practice of its views, for we can believe the intercourse with India would be continued as much as possible and chiefly with regard to religion. We can also assume that the Mantranaya was introduced in very much the same form as known to us from the Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan and therefore remained much the same during the period of the Middle and East Javanese kingdom. There is no authentic account of the state of affairs from Javanese sources owing to the lack of texts connected with the Buddhism of Middle-Java; it is impossible to form any idea of its developement or decline, except by careful study of the coinciding changes in the Yoga-creed on the continent, and of this too our knowledge is very scanty.

We shall do well not to go too far into this question but rather continue our search in another direction. Seeing the probability is proved of Javanese Buddhism being a Yoga-creed with Tantric views — apart from the question whether they were the same as those on East-Java or were originally less Tantristic — we ought to ascertain in how far what is found on the Barabuḍur agrees with this probability, or disagrees with it. Let us first examine what data the monument has to offer in this respect.

As regards the various texts, that of the buried base throws very little light on the subject. I have already noted, that as far as we can discover, in the whole Buddhist church the cosmological and metaphysical theories of the Abhidharma were chiefly the same [1]); and this makes it difficult to discern any particular school or opinions, besides which the actual text followed on Barabuḍur has not yet come to light. We do not know if the Tantric school had a separate Abhidharma of its own as regards the practice of the Law of Karman, on which point it had no reason to differ from the generally-accepted view. At any rate, the series of reliefs on the buried base in the present state of our knowledge shews no positive indication of the particular doctrine they may represent.

I have already given some account of the Lalitavistara, which shews that this text was also very famous and widely-spread [2]). It must special-

[1]) See Vol. I p. 61.

[2]) Pag. 289. The translator of the Chinese version made known by Beal in his Romantic Legend (1874), begins with a tribute of homage to Vairocana (p. 2) which is not without importance to this point.

ly be noted that the Tibetan version of Çākyamuni's life-history is founded on this text and in Nepal it belongs to the nine great Vaipulyasūtra's; in both these countries we find a Buddhist community holding Tantric views. For example [1]), the vajrācāryas of these countries, the married priests, are the same as the Javanese vajradhara's; which indicates analogous conditions. From the validity of this text among present-day Tantric sects, we may readily conclude that its promulgation in Java may quite well be connected with the Tantristic-coloured Buddhism that we judge to be the probable doctrine of the Javanese Mahāyāna. Later on we come upon a closer proof of this.

Next we have the Jātakamālā. As we are aware [2]), very little is known about the poet Çūra. But it is very important how his name, according to a statement by Tāranātha [3]), is mentioned by Dharmakīrti. Asked by a certain king who he was, the great logician replies:

In wisdom a Dignāga, in purity of language a Candragomin,
Skilled in the metric, that originates from the poet Çūra,
What am I else but the vanquisher of all quarters?

Dignāga we have met with already in the East-Java tantra, he is cited as the authority for a Yogācārya dogma. Candragomin is the famous champion of Asaṅga's idealistic views [4]). The great part played by Tārā in the story of his life has perhaps some importance in connection with the fact that a Tārā-worship was found in the oldest Buddhist sanctuary of Java. It may possibly be more than chance that in one of the stories about Candragomin, it is told how on one particular occasion he carried nothing with him but his garment and a copy of the Aṣṭasāhasrikaprajñāpāramitā [5]), and that it is a maxim from this very text, that is found engraved on an old bronze image of Lokeçvara in Sumatra [6]). Dharmakīrti himself, pupil of one of Dignāga's disciples, writer of essays on logic, among which is a commentary on a work of Dignāga, is one of the shining lights of Asaṅga's idealistic school [7]). In his biography we read that he received consecration from the Vajrācārya of the mantra-

[1]) See above p. 306.

[2]) Vol. I p. 314.

[3]) On p. 181 (139). Comp. Thomas in Album Kern (1903) p. 405.

[4]) Tāranātha p. 148—158 (= 115—122), Wassiljew p. 227 (= 208); comp. Winternitz, Geschichte der Indischen Literatur II, 1 (1913) p. 269.

[5]) Tāranātha p. 157 (121).

[6]) See Kern in Not. Bat. Gen. 1889 p. 15 and 1890 p. 16, or Verspr. Geschr. VII (1917) p. 144. The maxim says: imāni kuçalamūlāni sarvvasatvasādhāraṇi kṛtvā anuttarāyāṃ samyaksaṃbodhau parināmaṃ yāmi.

[7]) Tāranātha p. 175—188 (134—144); Wassiljew p. 228 (208).

professing school and managed to exorcise the Adhideva [1]). This certainly already reveals Tantric practices, in the style of those met with in Java. In any case all three were great men of the Yogācārya-school, therefore when the last-lived mentions Çūra as an example with the two others, it probably follows that the poet of the Jātakamālā must also be considered as belonging to the Yogācārya's.

I have already made it plain that the results to be gained from the tales identified from the Divyāvadāna are negative and actually do not prove that the Mūlasarvāstivādanikāya is followed [2]). We must also give some attention to the other great work that has helped us to identify a number of the edifying tales, the Avadānaçataka, not that this Hīnayānistic source can throw much light on the Buddhism of Barabuḍur, but because what we find on the monument is important to the history of this text. The seven (or eight) stories recognised are *all* found in the fourth decade and this decade takes up a very special place in the work. It consists entirely of actual jātaka's [3]), which are referred to in a separate colophon as Bodhisattvajātaka's. Feer has already noted [4]), that in the three avadānamālā's that contain the numbers 1—2, 3—4, and 10 respectively of each Avadānaçataka-decade (Kalpadrūmāvadānamālā, Ratnāv°, Açokāv°) the expected stories are omitted each time from the fourth decade; he therefore surmises that this decade did not belong to the original version of the work, or more likely, formed an appendix to it. On Barabuḍur we found only tales from this fourth decade but not one of the ninety other stories, and the seven or eight out of the fourth decade appeared not only in an entirely different sequence to that of the text, but scattered over several relief-series, a couple in the bottom row of the chief wall, first gallery, two more in the top row of the balustrade and some others in the bottom row of the same balustrade [5]). Enough is known of the manner in which the Barabuḍur sculptors worked, to make sure that they followed authorized texts and did not collect tales from all kinds of sources to sculpture a sort of new avadānamālā of their own. The authentic text which they used in this case is of course not the Avadānaçataka, which besides is Hīnayānistic, from which they would have selected the fourth decade,

[1]) Tāranātha p. 176 (135).

[2]) See p. 289.

[3]) Cf. Speyer on p. V of the preface to his edition in Bibl. Buddh. III (1909).

[4]) Ann. Musée Guimet 18 (1891), Introduction p. XXII.

[5]) They are consecutively no. 38 on Ib 59—60, no. 36 on Ib 106—112, no. 34 on IBa 159—160, no. 35 on IBa 175—178, no. 31 on IBb 74—76, no. 37 on IBb 79 and no 39 on IBb 80.

leaving the rest and then casually scattered the tales into various relief-series, among those gathered from entirely different sources. The monument therefore proves that the greatest part of the tales which now form the fourth decade of the Avadānaçataka, and possibly all the ten — for the few other ones may easily have been among the many missing reliefs particularly those of the bottom row on the balustrade [1]) — have formed part of a very large collection of avadāna's and jātaka's illustrated on Barabuḍur. Such a collection must have been in conformity with the school to which the founders of this sanctuary belonged, and as far as we can tell, the other nine decades of the Avadānaçataka as it now is, were not represented. We do not know exactly how the author of the Avadānaçataka or one of his predecessors arranged the fourth decade in the sequence now known to us, and joined it to the other stories, to which it did not originally belong; but it appears very plainly by what is found on Barabuḍur that the fourth decade occupies a special and peculiar position with regard to the rest. With reference to the text followed on the monument, we can learn nothing for the moment but for later research it may be useful to note the fact that in the avadāna and jātaka collection of Barabuḍur, out of the whole Avadānaçataka only those tales have been found that belong to the "Bodhisattvajātaka's" of the fourth decade.

The stories identified with the help of Pāli-jātaka's of course give no chance for direct conclusions regarding the arrangement and origin of the collection. It is plain that the agreement in these cases is very slight. It is very noticeable how among this great mass of stories several are omitted that certainly might have been expected in it, for example the Saḍdanta-jātaka, so well-known in Buddhist literature and art and so-frequently depicted; it is of course possible it may also have been among those that are lost. In any case it has not occupied the place of honour on the chief wall.

The text of the second gallery, the Gaṇḍavyūha, as already noted, was ascribed to Asaṅga himself [2]). It is doubtful whether this is correct, but we need not bother ourselves about this, when we know that Paramārtha who lived in the sixth century, thus long before the erection of Barabuḍur, held the same opinion [3]); the work at any rate

[1]) A river in the wilderness that should form the scene of no. 40, actually appears on a few fragments. The mise-en-scène of the two other tales is very ordinary and has no features that might assist identification.

[2]) See p. 1.

[3]) Takakusu, The Life of Vasubandhu by Paramārtha (AD. 499—569), T'oung Pao 2 : 5 (1904) p. 269—296.

belongs to Asaṅga's school and in the fifth century the idea prevailed that it was the work the master himself Paramārtha does not use the name Gaṇḍavyūha, he only relates that among the texts which Asaṅga received from Maitreya in the Tuṣita-heaven, there was also the Avataṃsaka and according to what Takakusu [1]) tells us, the Gaṇḍavyūha is a subdivision of this Avataṃsaka, while Pelliot thinks both names indicate the same text [2]). From what Wassiljew relates about the contents of the Avataṃsaka, it is impossible to discover that any connection with the Gaṇḍavyūha existed [3]); another proof of how little we can actually rely on these tables of contents. Vasubandhu is the commentator of the Avataṃsaka; it holds a very important place now-a-days in Japanese Buddhism. One of the twelve great sects, the Ke-gon-sect, even considers it as *the* original sūtra of the Buddha's creed and founds its tenets thereon [4]). If we may accept Bosch's hypothesis (discussed above on p. 114 sq.), then the Barabuḍur sanctuary would also agree with this view; should his idea prove incorrect and the Gaṇḍavyūha, however important and considered worthy to occupy the whole of the second chief wall, be followed in its turn by texts of still more exalted views, we should look elsewhere in Japanese Buddhism for corresponding appreciation of the Avataṃsaka; and then we have to turn to the Shin-gon-sect, for whom it is quite the most comprehensive sūtra of the exoteric doctrine, but still does not initiate in the esoteric dogma. This Shin-gon sect is no other than the Mantra-school and it is certainly not by chance that we find in this sect the most points of agreement with what we know of the Javanese Mahāyāna. It gives us Vairocana and Vajrasattva placed in a prominent position and the theories about kāya, vāk, citta and the same five jñāna's whom we saw in the Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan connected with the Dhyāni-Buddha's [5]). It is again noticeable that the Mahāvairocanābhisaṃbodhisūtra also repeatedly mentions the eight Great Bodhisattva's [6]).

Though we were not able to follow the actual texts illustrated on the

[1]) Ll. p. 292.

[2]) Notes à propos d'un Catalogue du Kanjur, Journ. asiat. 11 : 4 (1914) p. 120.

[3]) Pag. 171—173 (157—159). See also above, p. 114 concerning various more or less extensive redactions.

[4]) As Nanjio's Twelve Japanese Buddhist Sects (1887) was not at my disposal, I have made use of Ryauon Fujishima, Le Bouddhisme Japonais (1889), p. 81—99. Comp. De Groot, Le code du Mahâyâna en Chine, Verh. Kon. Acad. v. Wetensch. Afd. Letterk. 2de reeks, I, 2 (1893), p. 5.

[5]) Fol. 59a—60b. It is the same in Nepal, see Hodgson, Essays on the language, literature and religion of Nepál and Tibet (1874) p. 27.

[6]) De Visser l.l. p. 192 coll. Fujishima p. 81.

higher galleries, we saw that they were chiefly dedicated first to Maitreya and then to Samantabhadra. In a few places it would perhaps be possible to recognise some famous episode or scene, but the want of acquaintance with the context makes it just as impossible to verify the correctness of our guess as to make use of it for getting any nearer to the adjacent scenes and the meaning of the whole representation. Even in a text that is comprehensible as a whole, we may suddenly come to episodes that are a riddle to us; we can make an attempt at solution but that is all. So we found on the second gallery in the middle of the wanderings of Sudhana described in the Gaṇḍavyūha, on II 74 a very curious scene of a Buddha seated in dhyāna-mudrā, on a throne placed upon a great lotus on a lotus pond and on each side of him two Bodhisattva's with various positions of the hands, who are also seated on smaller lotuses, while above the whole group are clouds adorned with garlands. The Buddha's mudrā and the lotuses rising out of the pond at once make us think that this is Amitābha in Sukhāvatī, his Western land of happiness and even apart from this we need not be surprised to find on Barabuḍur traces of belief in this lovely paradise; in a large part of the Mahāyānistic church this idea obtained wide-spreading influence and thousands of believers died with the prayer on their lips that their merits might be rewarded by rebirth into Amitābha's paradise. It is quite reasonable to imagine that the hero of the Gaṇḍavyūha, who in the version of the text here followed, entreats so many goods and mortals to assist him in his tireless search after the Highest Wisdom, should also implore help from the Lord of the Western paradise. It is therefore very likely that Sukhāvatī is actually here depicted, but to prove the certainty or even the probability of this supposition is entirely beyond our power. It can also be objected that in the ordinary Sukhāvatī tales, only two Bodhisattva's are placed beside Amitābha [1]) and one of the two is Avalokiteçvara, always easily recognisable, — also at Barabuḍur — while among the four Bodhisattva's on this relief, who are distinguished only by mudrā's, not by emblems, there is not one who shews any likeness to Avalokiteçvara. This remark is not without value, but it is equally possible that it may do away with the guess at Sukhāvatī as that we should merely state that on Barabuḍur a somewhat different version is given to the usual picture of Sukhāvatī. In a case like this nothing but the recovery of the text can produce the desired certainty.

[1]) See for instance Sukhāvatīvyūha, ed. Max Müller and Nanjio, Anecd. Oxon., Aryan series I, 2 (1883).

So there is all the more reason for caution with attempted recognition of episodes in the higher galleries, of which we actually know no more than the name of the chief figure. On the fourth gallery the relief IV 13, on which a Buddha is sitting in the middle of a stūpa, reminds us at once of the eleventh chapter of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, in which too on the opening of a stūpa the person of a Buddha of days long past reveals himself to the astounded beholders [1]). Now we know well that this passage from the Lotus is *not* what is meant on Barabuḍur, because the details are not at all the same and the surrounding reliefs can in no way be connected with what is further related in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka. And yet this resemblance would be of importance for fixing the meaning of this relief, if only we had some indication to direct our search. As it stands now we can get no further.

We shall do better to give up all attempts that are useless and fix our attention on what we know, or fancy we know, which is after all but little. The third gallery, which possibly with the fourth represents the continuation and end of the Gaṇḍavyūha is, in any case the greater half, devoted to Maitreya; almost the whole of the fourth is dedicated to Samantabhadra. Their mutual connection has been explained in the Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan, according to which Samantabhadra is to become the last Buddha of the future. It is therefore clear why the text relating to him occupies a higher and more important place than the one about the Buddha-elect. It will now be our task to find out where in Buddhist literature this place of distinction is given to Samantabhadra. This is the first condition to which the system that we think was followed on Barabuḍur must comply. The second condition required is the recognition of a system of six Dhyāni-Buddha's, or we might say, the ordinary system of five, with a sixth, who belongs to the five but yet stands above them and who if all the signs are true, would be called Vajrasattva.

The combination of these two conditions actually proves to be something belonging not only to Barabuḍur. In Chinese Buddhism we find directly the group of six Dhyāni-Buddha's by the addition of Vajrasattva, mentioned as belonging to the Yogācārya school of which Samantabhadra is said to be the founder [2]). Elsewhere Vajrasattva himself is stated to be the founder [3]); there is evidently an inclination to identify these two beings just as the Lamaïst church sometimes com-

[1]) Comp. p. 104.

[2]) Eitel, Handbook of Chinese Buddhism (1888) s. v. Yogācārya and Vadjrasattva. He is also considered to be the author of a Bodhihṛdayaçīladānasūtra, see ibid. s. v. Samantabhadra.

[3]) Edkins, Chinese Buddhism (1880) p. 169.

bines the Ādi-Buddha with Vairocana but also with Vajradhara, Vajrasattva or Samantabhadra; the Nying-ma-pa sect considers its creed to be inspired by the Buddha Vajrasattva, who in his turn received it from the highest being, Samantabhadra, and in other places again the supreme Being is worshipped as Dharmakāya Samantabhadra [1]). In this last instance Samantabhadra may quite well have been originally used simply as an adjective, the use of the term has then certainly helped towards the unification.

In India as well we find the system of the Ādi-Buddha with the five or six Dhyāni-Buddha's combined with that of Vajradhara-Vajrasattva; this creed strives to assist the believer to regain his real nature, and to become Vajrasattva by means of the guru, the vajraguru, vajrācārya, the personified Vajrasattva. In that system the body of Ādi-Buddha is called "samantabhadra", and one of his other names is Viçvarūpa [2]). This view is fundamentally the same as that of the Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan, therefore we are not surprised to find in an old-Javanese text Samantabhadra simply as synonymous with Buddha [3]), and it is not by chance that the Buddhist-minded prince whc caused an Amoghapāça-image to be sent from Java to Sumatra, bore the name of Viçvarūpa [4]).

In identifying the eight Great Bodhisattva's on the Mĕndut I have as will be seen above [5]), made use of the Pañcakrama and this small text gives us other important data. It is a manual for the anuttarayoga and as such in its Tantric opinions very much resembles the creed of the Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan. The word vajra has here too a special meaning and occurs in all kinds of terms, among which are of course those we know from the Javanese text, vajrajñāna, vajradhara, vajrasattva with bodhicitta as well. To Vajrasattva homage is continually paid [6]), Buddhatva and Vajrasattvatva are the ideal for the yogin [7]). Elsewhere Vajradhara again is mentioned as imparting the

[1]) Waddell, The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism (1895) p. 73, 130 sq. and 349.

[2]) See the article Adibuddha by De La Vallée Poussin in Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics I (1908); Hodgson, Essays etc. p. 83.

[3]) This text is the Candakaraṇa, the quotation is to be found in Kern, Verspr. Geschr. IX p. 278. On the work itself see Meded. Kon. Akad. 58 (1924) p. 203—206. Comp. Hodgson l.l. p. 47.

[4]) Versl. Med. Kon. Akad. 5: 2 (1916) p. 326 sq. The same name bears a Tantric ācārya according to Tāranātha p. 215 (164).

[5]) P. 274.

[6]) For instance, I 206, II 60, III beginning, IV 27, 41, V 1, 38, where always the *name* Vajrasattva is used. Comp. De Visser, Arhats p. 151.

[7]) VI 25.

highest yoga [1]) and the commentator defines, "svayambhūr bhagavān" as: iti vajradharaḥ [2]). No definite line is here either to be drawn between Vajrasattva and Vajradhara, the Supreme Being, the Buddha and the believer now become his equal. Again we get an elaborate treatment of the five Dhyāni-Buddha's and the Devī's who are called elsewhere Tārā's. It is also noticeable that among their forms of appearance, the Dhyāni-Buddha's are supposed to be six-armed and supplied with emblems [3]), and Vajrasattva also appears six-armed with his attributes [4]). This may be an indication that they are meant to be the same kind of beings, and it seems likely when all six are here presented in the same six-armed form, they might also have been depicted on Barabuḍur in the same way, though there they have all retained their Buddha-shape.

Samantabhadra, except where he is mentioned among the eight Great Bodhisattva's, is named only once, but the manner in which he is spoken of shews plainly enough the important place he occupies. The passage is as follows:

yac cittaṃ Samantabhadrasya Guhyakendrasya dhīmataḥ
mamāpi tādṛçaṃ cittaṃ bhaved vajradharopamaṃ [5]).

These words speak for themselves. Guhyakendra, lord of the mysteries, represents the same idea as Guhyapati and this is as shewn above [6]), another name for Vajradhara. Here again we get a weakening of definition and are inclined to connect the name of Samantabhadra with the Supreme Being.

I shall not go into details about the Pañcakrama and consider it sufficiently proved in what is said above, that in spite of all deviation in details, the main conceptions coincide on the one hand with the Mantranaya of the Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan, on the other with what is depicted on Barabuḍur. I shall only call attention to a few points. First the fact that this document quotes the Lalitavistara [7]); in connection with what has just been said [8]) about the influence this text exercised in various parts of the Mahāyānistic church and the danger

[1]) II 7.

[2]) Tippaṇī V 2, p. 44.

[3]) I 107 sqq.

[4]) I 53.

[5]) I 89. In vs. 206—209 where in four consecutive couplets Vajrasattva, Vajrakāya, Vajravāca, and Vajrakāma are invoked, the third is addressed as samantabhadra.

[6]) See p. 167. Also Wassiljew, l.l. p. 7 (7), 135 (126); Waddell, Lamaism, p. 352.

[7]) The sources mentioned are cited in note 3 on p. XIII of De La Vallée Poussin's edition. The mention of the Lalitavistara is found III 57.

[8]) See p. 289 and 316.

of confining the founders of Barabuḍur within the narrow boundary of the sect to which the Lalitavistara originally belongs, merely on the value of that document, it is certainly important to notice that this text is authoritative in a work that manifests an utterly different view from that of the sect we refer to. Let us also take notice that in this case it is actually a Tantric work in which the quotation occurs.

Another question has already been touched on in the preface to his edition, by De La Vallée Poussin [1]). It concerns the relation this work bears to the two great schools of the Mahāyānistic church, the Mādhyamika's and Yogācārya's. Tradition ascribes this text to none less than Nāgārjuna, the founder of the Mādhyamika-school and the Pañcakrama can actually be taken as a compendium of Nāgārjuna's nihilistic opinions. On the other hand Çākyamitra is said to be the editor of part of the book; he is a scholar of a later date than Dharmakīrti and belongs in Wassiljew's opinion, to the Yogācārya's, to the particular sect which under Dignāga's influence separated themselves from the real followers of Asaṅga [2]), the logical party of the Yogācārya's in contrast to the Vijñānavādins or idealists. But further on Çākyamitra is said to belong to the Prasaṅga-school [3]), the pre-eminently nihilistic one which corresponds directly to Nāgārjuna's theories and forms part of the Mādhyamika's. The Pañcakrama is undoubtedly nihilistic too, but the general spirit of the work, the practical instructions that it gives, agree however with the Yogācārya views. The explanation De La Vallée Poussin gives of this incongruity seems to me the only possible one; a very close union of Tantric practices and Tantric spirit such as the Yogācārya-school encouraged, on the one hand, with the more efficient and logical dogmas of the Mādhyamika's, the Çūnyatāvādin's in particular, on the other hand. All kinds of conflicting elements evidently became blended together as the result of mutual encroachment on the part of differing systems; and in this way of necessity when the fundamental ideas of the Tantrayāna were being followed, the theoretic points of difference between the schools would slip into the background.

From this we may draw conclusions for Barabuḍur. According to the evidence collected in the above, I think it may be decided that in the case of Barabuḍur we need not seek for any other sort of Buddhism than the one which we have learned to know as the prevailing doctrine in East Java. What we found there was the Yogācārya-creed with a Tantric

[1]) P. VII—XI.
[2]) Pag. 318 (290).
[3]) Pag. 358 (326).

spirit in it, and now it appears plainly that all the data we could extract from what is depicted on the stūpa, yield indications that agree with this. The Gaṇḍavyūha, the important position of Samantabhadra, the system of the Dhyāni-Buddha's with a sixth added, all these taken separately and combined, pointed in only one direction; in Yogācāra and Tantra we found the points of resemblance and just as Çūra and part of the jātaka's seemed connected with the Yogācārya's, so the Lalitavistara proved itself to be influential with the Tantra school. Unless all the signs deceive us, it may be stated as the result of our examination, that the Buddhism of Barabuḍur does not differ in its essentials from that of East Java. The Javanese Mahāyāna, from the Çailendra's, who erected Kalasan, to the downfall of Majapahit, is one and the same thing, it is a Yogācārya-creed, imbued with the spirit of Tantrism, otherwise a Tantrism founded on the Yogācārya's.

Bali received its Buddhism from East Java, therefore it is to be expected that what is found on that island at the present day must be the continuation of what existed ages ago in Java. In the above discussion I made no use of data available from Bali, partly on account of the possibility that outside influences of later date may have crept in and partly because Balinese Buddhism has been so little studied as yet and we have nothing but a confused mass of unsifted and partly unreliable material. Now we have achieved by other means some result concerning the Mahāyāna of Java, I must add to it the statement that a cursory examination of the data regarding Buddhism in Bali sufficiently proves that notwithstanding all the corruptions, it fundamentally agrees with that of East-Java. It is one unbroken tradition. So the manuscripts for our chief source about Java, the Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan come from Lombok, which as regards this question is no more than a part of Bali. In the "padanda Buddha" of the Balinese worship we should find in his latest form Asaṅga's disciple, though of course not recognized as such by himself.

I have already alluded to corruption in Bali. It is there very clear how little Buddhism remained true to itself, but then there is a powerful factor at work to bring about changes; and that is the complete ignorance of those calling themselves Buddhists, as regards the most elementary principles of their creed. In Java, as we saw when comparing East and Middle Java, its course of developement appears to have been much more restricted; at this distance of time we might almost say, exceedingly gradual. All the same it was not inanimate; Buddhism in Java was not without vigor, it lived and therefore must have undergone changes,

though we are not able to trace them, and though they do not seem to have affected the main principles. Perhaps one of these phases may be the resumption of the system of five Dhyāni-Buddha's, after the six found on Barabuḍur, a change that appears to indicate a difference in the position of Vajrasattva as if now he was rated less as highest Dhyāni-Buddha and more as a separate being that ought to be distinguished from the five as a personification of the Buddha-ship the believer must strive to attain. It is yet impossible for us to discover in how far such an alteration was brought about under the direct influence of what happened in India or by parallel changes taking place in Java.

To connect Barabuḍur with Tantrism is something that would have been regarded as foolish not so very long ago. Everyone interested in the subject, looked upon the sanctuary of Barabuḍur as expressing Buddhism in its highest form, embodied in the noble serenity of meditation. Tantrism on the contrary was considered to be a mixture of wild demonology and sinister practices of magic, hardly worthy the name of Buddhism. In fact these two extremes could have little in common. This view was founded on a misapprehension arising from the fact, that we first learned to know Tantrism from its worst side and in a state of corruption. The real nature of the Tantra-creed has only been discovered and rightly valued within the last few years.

To give a summary of this creed would be far beyond the scope of this work, even were I efficient for the task. I shall here touch on a few points that may be useful for the understanding of Barabuḍur's significance. I have previously pointed out that the acceptation of Tantra would cause the theoretic points of difference between the schools of philosophy to drift into the background. Javanese Buddhism is an example with its combination of such various elements: the same Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan that quotes Dignāga as an authority, shews traces of borrowing from the Mādhyamika's in the theories it expounds, and within the authority of the Yogācārya school, next to the quotation of the logician Dignāga can be placed the indications found on Barabuḍur pointing to Asaṅga, thus in the direction of the Vijñānavādin's. We need not expect to find the Buddhism on Barabuḍur reduced to a distinctly prescribed system.

If this collective and eclectic influence holds good for the schools of philosophy, how much more that will be the case as regards the original sects. The masters of the Yogācārya had already given the example; not following *one* system but drawn from all creeds, was the doctrine expounded by Asaṅga, so that the çrāvaka's (Hīnayānistic monks) be-

came believers [1]), and it is expressly related of Vasubandhu that he had studied the çāstra's of the eighteen sects, the points of difference between sūtra's and vinaya of the various schools and even the chief works of the Tīrthya's [2]). We have already seen above [3]), that according to I-tsing the same sect belonged in one place to the Hīnayāna and in another to the Mahāyāna [4]), while the same author further mentions as the only systems of the Mahāyāna the two great schools of philosophy, Mādhyamika and Yogācārya [5]). It is thus clearly proved how much the distinctions between the sects had been pushed aside by the schools of philosophy in the Church. The particular tenets of the sects lost their meaning except in so far as they found a place as fundamental principles in one of the systems of philosophy [6]).

In the Buddhism to which Barabuḍur belongs, the difference between the sects has become of altogether secondary importance. It had first made way for the question whether one should belong to the Hīnayāna or the Mahāyāna, and within the pale of the Great Vehicle if one should follow the Mādhyamika or the Yogācārya system; then finally the points of difference between these two were also weakened. Not of course that they ceased to exist, but they gradually lost all practical meaning. That being the case, a search for the school which founded Barabuḍur will not mean one for the sect to which the founders can be ascribed. It is even questionable if one particular sect could be pointed out. The followers of the Tantric Yogācārya here represented, we know were not bound to one sect; what could be more likely than that all those who acknowledged this system, who believed it would bring about their own salvation and that of the whole world, should together have undertaken the erection of a monumental building in honour of that Creed, without any regard to which of the old sects they happened to belong. If therefore

[1]) Tāranātha p. 117 (91).

[2]) The same p. 119 (93).

[3]) See p. 288.

[4]) It must not be imagined there was a very distinct separation between the two Yāna's. I agree with Lévi-Chavannes' statement in his article referred to on p. 288 note 4. On p. 28 we find: "D'ailleurs il faut se garder d'opposer dans un contraste brutal les deux Véhicules. Petit et Grand Véhicule tiennent l'un à l'autre par des liens nombreux et subtils".

[5]) See Takakusu on p. XXII of the introduction to his translation.

[6]) Kern, Geschiedenis van het Buddhisme II (1884) p. 391. I will quote two more statements by Tāranātha: "Obwohl es in jeder der achtzehn Schulen bis jetzt Grundwerke, Anweisungen und Bücher giebt, so giebt es doch niemand mehr, welcher sich ohne alle Beimischung zu den Ansichten einer derselben bekennen würde" (p. 273 sq. = 208). And "Seit der Verbreitung des Mahāyāna bekannten sich alle Geistliche des Mahāyāna, obwohl sie zu einer dieser Schulen gehört hatten, doch nur zum Mahāyāna-System, ohne sich den früheren verschiedenen Systemen anzuschliessen" (p. 274 = 208 sq.).

data should come to light, shewing some particular idea or text to belong to one of the old sects, for instance that in agreement with what I-tsing relates of an earlier period [1]), the Mūlasarvāstivādanikāya had remained in honour, this would be a fact of great importance, for it would prove that the Mūlasarvāstivādanikāya was still authentic among these Yogācārya's or Tantrists. But even then we should not be justified in concluding that the founders of Barabudur belonged exclusively to the Mūlasarvāstivādin sect.

Anything strictly systematic we must not expect to find on Barabuḍur. Neither could it be feasible, because the founders had always to consider the plastic representation of their texts. We can easily imagine how there will have been scriptures most sacred in their eyes, which before all they wished to see immortalized on the monument, yet by reason of their abstract ideas were utterly unsuitable for depicting in relief-form. Such an objection would specially apply for instance to the Prajñāpāramitā, that we have good authority for believing to be one of the sacred texts belonging to this creed, annotated as it is by the Bodhisattva Maitreya, by Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, while a writing by Dignāga is connected with it [2]); it is the very thing we should expect at Barabuḍur. But the contents are very unsuited for illustration. It may have been the same with other texts; in deciding what should and what should not be depicted on the stūpa, next to its degree of sanctity, the practicability of its representation had to be considered.

As ruling school of Javanese Buddhism in general and Barabuḍur in particular, we found a Yogācārya *or* Tantra-creed. Since the researches of Kern, Minayeff, Senart, Oldenberg and De La Vallée Poussin, of whose „Bouddhisme" I have gratefully made use [3]) have thrown light on the origin of Mahāyāna and Tantrayāna, it has become clear how difficult it is in practice to draw the line between the two. No one will regard the Mahāyāna any more as a sort of second-rate Buddhism in contrast to the "pure creed" of the Pāli canon of the Southern Church; the Great Vehicle, designed to be a vehicle for all, throwing open its doors, not restricting itself to an order of monks or a clergy, and preaching a conduct of life that was acceptable to all kinds of people, was certainly not inferior in its intrinsic value and only little in date, to the Hīnayāanistic sects.

[1]) See p. 287 sq.

[2]) Walleser, Prajñāpāramitā (1914) p. 28—30.

[3]) Études et Matériaux. Mémoires couronnés etc. par l'Académie Royale de Belgique, LV 4 (1898). Especially p. 61—93.

Tantric practices more or less distinct, are found already from the beginning of the Mahāyāna; no wonder when they existed in some form or other long before and outside Buddhism. This applies of course specially to the yoga. The yogin whether he is Buddhist or not, endeavours to attain the Higher Wisdom in whatever form he may imagine it. And one ingredient of the Higher Wisdom is super-natural power, so that every yogin strives to subdue the natural and human in order to lay hold of the supernatural and superhuman, though in reality he does not come farther than the unnatural and inhuman [1]). Fundamentally therefore tantristic practices are a part of every yoga. What Tantrism actually does is to make the secondary part into the main point; in the Mantrayāna the practice of yoga is no longer a means but has itself become the manipulator of the Bodhi. In agreement with this the Bodhi has changed its character and the attainment of Buddha-ship coincides with what is the ideal of non-Buddhist theosophy: the absorption of the yogīçvara into the Supreme Being [2]). Perhaps we might formulate as follows: there is no intrinsic, but only a gradual difference in the practical exercise of the yoga between Mahāyāna and Tantrayāna; their aim can in both cases be described as "attainment of the Buddha-ship", but where the yoga of the Mahāyānist serves for achieving such high wisdom as shall at last make him worthy to become a Buddha, the Tantrayānist's yoga brings about directly incorporation with the Supreme Being called Buddha.

The distinguishing difference lies in my opinion in the aim of the yoga, not in the way it is exercised; incantations and the practice of magic though specially characteristic of Tantrism, are also ascribed to the great masters of unalloyed Mahāyāna [3]). I do not believe there is sufficient reason to doubt Tāranātha's statement [4]), that Mantra-tantra's were practised ever since the dissemination of the Mahāyāna, although for a time they maintained the character of a secret creed. In the period from Asaṅga until Dharmakīrti there lived great mantra-magicians; the Anuttarayoga was however revealed only to those deemed worthy thereof and never performed daily. After that time the Anuttarayogatantra's continually became more widespread and under the Pāla kings (850—1050) there were many mantra-vajrācārya's [5]). The practice of

[1]) Kern, Geschiedenis II p. 420.

[2]) Comp. above p. 307. As regards the value of dhāraṇī's and mudrā's to believers, see Wassiljew l.l. p. 153—156 (142—145).

[3]) It is known that the Hīnayāna also had its yoga; a Singalese manual of this, the Yogāvacara has been published by Rhys Davids (Pali Text Soc. 1896) trans. by Woodward, Manual of a mystic (P. T. S. 1916).

[4]) Pag. 104 (82); cf. 275 (209).

[5]) Tāranātha p. 201 (154).

these mantra performances had therefore already existed for a long time, but when may we begin to speak of Tantrism? The vajrācārya's of the ninth century were of course Tantrists; can we regard the contemporaries of Asaṅga and their predecessors as such, and where are we to draw the line?

If we now turn to Java we find in the East-Javanese Buddhism of the Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan the authentic Mantrayāna. The period before that, during which Barabuḍur was erected, is in direct connection with East Java as I have described. We have no texts for this period, but the monuments are there. The stūpa itself yields data that turn partly in the direction of the Yogācārya, partly towards the Tantrayāna. Are the limits here already overstept and does Barabuḍur represent exactly the same phase as the Kamahāyānikan, a Tantrayāna that is based on the Yogācārya-creed? Or are we not yet quite as far as that and is the Mahāyānistic point of view still maintained, even if there are sufficient indications of transition towards the Tantrayāna being about to take place?

When putting questions like these, we are aware they can only be of relative value. The evolution of religion and philosophy does not take place in such a way that at some given moment we can draw a line at the point where an old opinion is unanimously dropped and a new one taken up. The one glides unperceived into the other and gradually the believer's mind becomes ripe for new ideas, accepted first by a few, then by more and finally by the majority. When we consider how the doctrine of Islām gained power in Java, we see how first it appeared in the coast places as early as the twelfth century, how it spread among the inland people in the beginning of the fifteenth, and how it took more than another century to gain the upper hand; this shews how slowly new opinions take root, though we can realize that the similarity between the Mahāyānistic and the Tantristic dogma would considerably quicken the process. Their resemblance however on the other hand makes it so much more difficult to fix the boundaries, nor would each individual believer be aware of the exact moment when he stepped from the one Vehicle into the other.

It is therefore impossible for the present to give any closer definition of Barabuḍur's Buddhism. As the result of our examination, we see in the stūpa the embodiment of a Mahāyāna founded on the Yogācārya-school but with a leaning towards the Tantrayāna and possibly already merged in it. At any rate we must retain the term Mahāyāna when the tantristic Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan regards the "Mantranaya" ex-

pounded therein as belonging to the Mahāyāna; a view moreover that agrees with the whole Buddhist-Tantristic literature. It is not for us to deprive Javanese Buddhism of the name of Mahāyāna, because as far as we can see the aim and composition of the creed here professed no longer agrees with what we recognise as forming the actual Mahāyāna; they considered themselves followers of the Great Vehicle and that we must acknowledge. We shall do best to speak of a Tantric Mahāyāna based on the Yogācārya-school.

The scarcity of available data gives our research for the present only a temporary character. When later on the Buddhist documents from Tibet and China have shed light on unknown texts, in particular those of the higher galleries, and the study of the Mahāyāna especially in relation to Tantrism, has been pursued in the direction already indicated; when besides, later research has given us clearer insight into the special condition of Java; then only will the investigation of Barabuḍur's Buddhism, here begun, have a chance of satisfactory completion.

It is chiefly from outside Java that new light may be expected as to the signification of Barabuḍur. On the other hand this monument that brings before us (though incompletely), texts and tenets followed at a certain period by a certain group of Mahāyānists, will in itself form a valuable source for the study of Buddhism in general.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BARABUḌUR

In the following list books and papers on Barabuḍur are placed in chronological order. As regards the older sources, the author has striven to be as complete as possible; since the end of the 19th century the monument has become so well known and was so much visited, that it would be of no use to record all the descriptions. Only those will be mentioned, which are of any value for the history or the interpretation of the sanctuary.

1814. **Cornelius (H. C.)**, Beschrijving van de zeer merkwaardige Ruïnes, bij den Inlander bekend onder de benaming van Borro-Boedoor, voorgesteld in de hoogste Indiaansche Architecture, waarin een groot aantal van kleine Hindostansche tempels met verschillende Beelden aaneengeschakeld als een heilige plaats, welke jongst is ontdekt geworden in de environs van het dorp Boemi Segorro, geleege in de provincie de Cadoe, aan de Noorder Lemieten van het district Bagalleen, omtrent 36 Engelsche mijlen afstand in het Suid-Westen van de Residentie in de Cadoe, de Magallaan genaamd. Ms. of 236 pages (copy of the original), being the explanation of the drawings and plans, made during the first survey of Barabuḍur; it goes no further than the fourth gallery. This Ms, formerly in the Leyden Museum of Antiquities, is now lost (see Leemans' monograph p. XLVIII of the Preface, and Not. Kon. Inst. 1917—1918 p. XVIII). A copy of this copy is to be found in the Archaeol. Department at Batavia, with reproductions of the plans. For the plans themselves see: 1885 Leemans.

1817. **Raffles (Th. S.)**, History of Java, II p. 29–30 (= 30–32, second edition 1830). Short description, with reproduction of a kinnarī, from the neighbourhood of the monument, on a plate opposite p. 44 (fig. 1) and two Buddha-heads on a plate opposite p. 54 (fig. 2 en 3).

1819. **Gouv. Besl.** [1]) of 1 October no. 25. Besides the desa Bumi-Segara, also the desa Bumin is exempted from landtax, on condition that they furnish sufficient people to keep the ruins of Barabuḍur in order.

1820. **Crawfurd (J.)**, On the ruins of Boro Budor, in Java; Transactions of the literary Society of Bombay, II p. 154–166 (= 163–176 in the second edition of 1876). Detailed description, dated Batavia, 10 March 1817. With seven plates (view of the monument, Buddha in niche, lion and four basreliefs).

1820. **Crawfurd (J.)**, History of the Indian Archipelago, II p. 197—198. Short description, with nine plates (the same as above, and two more reliefs).

[1]) By Order of the Governor-General.

1822. See 1842.

1823. **Resolution** of the Minister of Education, Industry and Colonies of 13 March no. 29. The stone images, collected by Prof. Dr. G. C. C. Reinwardt in Java are placed in the Archaeological Cabinet of Leyden University. For the sculptures from Barabuḍur see 1909 Juynboll.

1826. **Reuvens (C. J. C.),** Verhandeling over drie groote steenen Beelden, in den jare 1819 uit Java naar de Nederlanden overgezonden; Gedenkschr. Derde Kl. Kon. Ned. Inst. v. Wetensch., Letterk. en Sch. Kunsten, III p. 121, 131 sq., 135 etc. Name and meaning of the monument.

1830. **Raffles (S.),** Memoir of the life and public services of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles etc. p. 159. On the name.

1836. **Von Humboldt (W.),** Ueber die Kawi-Sprache auf der Insel Java, I p. 120–171 and 189–190. Description (120—124); the Buddha-images in connection with the system of Dhyāni-Buddha's (124–139); ornament and reliefs (139—143); the monument as „dagop" (143—170); relation to the environs (171); the name (189—190).

1838. **Buddingh (A. S.),** Djandi Mundut in 1839 (*sic*); Tijdschr. v. Neêrl. Indië I, 2, p. 401 sq. Legend on the foundation.

1840. **Valck (F. G.),** Gedachten over de Ruïnen van de Hindoesche Godsdienst, welke op Java gevonden worden; Tijdschr. v. Neêrl. Indië III, 1, p. 183–184. Short mention.

1840. See 1858.

1842. **Kronijk** van Nederlandsch-Indië, loopende van af het jaar 1816; Tijdschr. v. Neêrl. Indië, IV, 1, p. 198. Second visit of the Governor-General Van der Capellen in 1822, after a first one in 1817, and description of the clearing in the meantime and the discovery of a fifth gallery.

1842. **Sieburgh (H. N.),** List of paintings in De Kopiïst I, p. 384, no. 7–11 (no. 7 view from one of the corners; no. 8 view from a neighbouring hill, with the landscape; no. 9 view on one of the galleries; no. 10 view of one of the gateways with staircase; no. 11 two basreliefs).

1842. **Leemans (C.),** Beredeneerde beschrijving der Asiatische en Amerikaansche monumenten van het Museum van Oudheden. See for the antiquities from Barabuḍur described here: 1909 Juynboll.

1844. **Junghuhn (F.),** Ruïnen van Java, Tijdschr. v. Neêrl. Indië VI, 2, p. 357—358. Mention.

1844. **Raffles (Th. S.),** Plates for the second edition of the History of Java, no. 45–55 (no. 45 plan; no. 46 view on the temple; no. 47 Outer Elevation of the First Gateway and Façade of the 3 terrace; no. 48 Elevation of ditto of the 4 terrace; no. 49 Interior Elevation of ditto of the 4 terrace; no. 50 of the 5 terrace; no. 51 of the 6 terrace; no. 52 Elevation and Façade of the Gateway supporting the 7 terrace; no. 53 Interior Elevation of the Gateway and Façade of the 7 terrace; no. 54 Elevation and Section of one of the Bell-shaped or conical Temples surrounding the large Central one; no. 55 Elevation and Section of the large Central Temple).

1845. **Münnich (J.),** Eenige bijdragen tot het onderzoek der oudheden op Java; Indisch Magazijn, Tweede twaalftal no. 1 and 2, p. 178–179. On an image (compared with the guardians at Tjandi Sewu) on the hill Daghi.

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aasch Genootschap; Verhand. Bat. Gen. XXI. For the images from Barabuḍur described here, see 1887 Groeneveldt.

1849. **Gouv. Besl.** of 31 March no. 4, ordering drawings to be made of all basreliefs and images, to be reproduced by lithograph. With this work were charged the draughtsman in the Engineers F. C. Wilsen and the nou. Com. officer Schönberg Müller.

1850. **Bleeker (P.),** Fragmenten eener Reis over Java; Tijdschr. v. N.-Indië, second part, p. 226—228. Short account.

1852. **Javasche Oudheden,** opgedragen aan Z. K. H. Prins Hendrik der Nederlanden. Very inaccurate drawing of a staircase and a gateway; and on p. 1 of the text a basrelief as illustration.

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[1]) The author has been discovered by Rouffaer in Bijdr. Kon. Inst. 79 (1923) p. 591—597.

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1876. **Busken Huet (C.)**, Nationale Vertoogen II, p. 20—22. De „Economist" over den Boro-boeddhoer. Criticism of the foregoing.

1876. **Friederich (R. H. Th.)**, Rapport over reizen gedaan op Java; Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. XXIII, p. 66–67. On the name and the survey by Hoepermans in 1864. Dated June 1868.

1876. **Fergusson (J.)**, History of Indian and Eastern Architecture [1]), p. 643–650. With the two wood-cuts mentioned 1870 Yule (fig. 362—363), section of a small stūpa and view of the central stūpa from Raffles (fig. 364–365), and view on staircase and gate, taken on smaller scale from Javasche Oudheden 1852 (fig. 366). The monument dated in 656; explained as a dagoba with vihāra, also related to the Gandhāra-monasteries. Comparisons with other buildings, but no positive conclusions. Second impression in 1891.

1876. **Burnell (A. C.)**, Literary work in Java; Ind. Antiquary V, p. 316 (also Not. Bat. Gen. XIV, p. LII—LIII). A very developed Northern Buddhism and some jātaka's are recognised.

1877. **Notulen** Bat. Gen. XV, p. 122–129. New remarks of C. Leemans criticising the work of Van Kinsbergen, answer of Van Kinsbergen and of the resident of Kĕdu (p. 128 on the name of the sanctuary; p. 127–128 on the watersupply).

[1]) Being the new edition of an older „Handbook of Architecture", here not available.

1877–1878. **Notulen** Bat. Gen. XV, p. 158 and XVI, p. 18. Replacing of Buddha-heads.

1878. **Veth (P. J.)**, Java, geographisch, ethnologisch, historisch; II p. 79—83. Good description, exclusively mo[illegible]

1880. **Hose (G. F.)**, The ruins of Boro Budur in Java, Journ. Straits Branch Roy. Asiat. Soc. VI, p. 203–223. On the book of Leemans, the work of Raffles and the Buddha-legend.

1880. **Cora (G.)**, Descrizione di Bôrô-Budur nell'isola di Giava, Cosmos VI, p. 216–219. On Leemans' monograph, with reproduction of Wilsen's view and a map of the environs [1]).

1881–1882. **Feer (L.)**, Boro-Boudour dans l'île de Java, Ann. de l'Extr. Or. IV, p. 72–82, 105–115, 145–150, 191. Detailed description, following Leemans' monograph.

1882. **Notulen** Bat. Gen. XX, p. 99 and 118–119. Proposition of J. H. F. Sollewijn Gelpke to demolish Barabuḍur and to put the reliefs in a museum.

1883. **Notulen** Bat. Gen. XXI, p. 98. A stone axe found in the vicinity.

1883–1885. **Notulen** Bat. Gen. XXI, p. 71–72, 83, 98, 134; XXII, 1–2, 11; XXIII, p. 87, 122. Complaints on the condition of Barabuḍur; W. P. Groeneveldt is commissioned to make an examination.

1884. **Kern (H.)**, Geschiedenis van het Buddhisme in Indië, II p. 174 and 179. On the Dhyāni-Buddha's and the chief image.

1885. **Leemans (C.)**, Beschrijving van de Indische oudheden van het Rijks-Museum van Oudheden te Leiden. Drawings and plans no. 42–83 (p. 118–120) mostly by *Cornelius*; no. 125 (p. 124) photographs of four reliefs, a Buddha and the guardian; no. 142–156 (p. 125–126) drawings of details, presented by the resident P. Le Clercq (1821–1825); no. 158 (p. 126) and 186 (p. 128) view on the monument and guardian, both by *F. C. Wilsen*. For the sculptures see 1909 Juynboll. An oil-painting by *A. Payen* was in the same Museum(now in the Ethnogr. Mus.).

1885. **Notulen** Bat. Gen. XXII, p. 156. Discovery of the buried base by IJzerman.

1885. See 1887 Leemans.

1886. **IJzerman (J. W.)**, Iets over den oorspronkelijken voet van Boro Boedoer; Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. XXXI, p. 261–268, with plate and 3 wood-cuts of inscriptions (taken from papercasts by J. Scheffer, comp. Not. Bat. Gen. XXIV, p. 113).

1886. **Brandes (J. L. A.)**, On the inscriptions of the buried base; Notulen Bat. Gen. XXIV, p. 27–29 and 160–165.

1886. **Yule (H.)** and **Burnell (A. C.)**, Hobson-Jobson, being a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases, p. 81. Art. Boro-Bodor or -Budur. Short description. (Reprinted in the second edition, 1903, p. 107).

1886. **IJzerman (J. W.)**, Het Kinara Jataka op Boro Boedoer; Bijdr. Kon. Inst., 5de Reeks I, p. 577—579. On the two kinnara-reliefs Ib 89–90.

1887. **Leemans (C.)**, Account (in December 1885) of the discovery of the

[1]) The same view is to be found in a review by D. Bordier in 1881 (Société Languedocienne de Géographie). In other learned societies too the monograph of Leemans has been the object of discussions or dissertations.

buried base; Versl. Meded. Kon. Acad. v. Wetensch. Afd. Letterk., 3de Reeks III, p. 93–94.

1887. **Groneman (J.)**, De B_râboedoer op Midden-Java; Indische Gids IX, first part, p. 99–125. Introduction and description; specially Buddha-legend and Buddha-images.

1887. **IJzerman (J. W.)**, On the Buddha's and Bodhisattva's; Versl. Meded. Kon. Acad. v. Wetensch. Afd. Letterk., 3de Reeks IV, p. 209–215.

1887. **Leemans (C.)**, Verslag over een verzoek der Oudheidkundige Vereeniging te Jogjakarta; Versl. Meded. Kon. Acad. v. Wetensch. Afd. Letterk., 3de Reeks IV, p. 248–252. On the excavation of the buried base.

1887. **Rouffaer (G. P.)**, in Notulen Bat. Gen. XXV, p. 160–162. On newly found reliefs of the base.

1887. **Groeneveldt (W. P.)**, Catalogus der Archeologische Verzameling van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen. Pag. 75–76 on the chief-image. No. 224–227 (p. 85) Buddha's; no. 236–245 (p. 87) Buddha-heads; no. 328 (p. 110) lion. Further from the vicinity no. 23 (p. 19) Çiva and no. 127 (p. 47) Durgā.

1887–1890. **Notulen** Bat. Gen. XXV, p. 34–45, 60–61; XXVI, p. 156–157, 187; XXVII, p. 90–91; XXVIII, p. 40. Projects for the excavation and reproduction of the reliefs on the buried base. Comp. Indische Gids 1887, II, p. 1637–1640.

1888. **Notulen** Bat. Gen. XXVI, p. 61–62, 175. Complaints on the damaged condition of the monument; a bambu-enclosure is set up.

1888. **Cotteau (E.)**, En Océanie, p. 95–97. With view on the monument (photograph Van Kinsbergen).

1890. **Gouv. Besluit** of 3 September no. 2, printed Notulen Bat. Gen. XXVIII, p. 100-101, Authorization to sign a contract with *K. Cephas* for photographing the reliefs of the buried base.

1890. **Meyer (W.)**, in Notulen Bat. Gen. XXVIII, p. 129. On the excavation of the base.

1891. **Verbeek (R. D. M.)**, Oudheden van Java; Verhand. Bat. Gen. XLVI, p. 144–147; no. 256. Detailed bibliography. Also p. 30 no. 10, on two Buddha-heads at Rumpin (Buitenzorg).

1892. **Groneman (J.)**, De tjandi Bårâboedoer op Midden-Java. Guide for visitors. Third edition in 1900, fourth in 1902; English translation in 1901 and second edition in 1906. See also 1907.

1893. **Grünwedel (A.)**, Buddhistische Kunst in Indien, p. 127 on the Buddha's, with plate 52, (head). In the new redaction of 1900 (second edition in 1919) p. 144 with pl. 76, and p. 116 on the composition of the reliefs; in the English translation by *Burgess* (1901) p. 124 and 167 with pl. 115; and p. 193 on Avalokiteçvara.

1893–1894. **Notulen** Bat. Gen. XXXI, p. 65, 127; XXXII, p. 9, 93, 103–104. On the enclosure.

1894. **Louw (P. J. F.)**, De Java-oorlog van 1825–30, I p. 494–495; II (1897) p. 217, 403. Barabuḍur during the war.

1895. **Oldenburg (S. F.)**, Zamětki o Buddijskom iskusstvě, in Vostočnyja Zamětki, p. 353–359. Recognition of Jātakamālā and other stories. Translated by *H. Kern*, Een Russisch geleerde over de beeldhouwwerken van den Bcro-

boedoer, Bijdr. Kon. Inst., 6de Reeks III (1897), p. 49–56 (= Verspreide Geschriften IV, 1916, p. 226–231); and by *L. Wiener*, Notes on Buddhist art, Journ. Americ. Orient. Soc. XVIII (1897), p. 196–201.

1896. **Kern (H.)**, Over de bijschriften op het beeldhouwwerk van Boro-boedoer; Versl. Meded. Kon. Acad. v. Wetensch. Afd. Letterk., 3de Reeks XII, p. 119–128. See also 1911 Kern, and 1917 Kern.

1896. **Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch Indië**, I p. 263. Art. Boro-Boedoer. Very short description.

1896. **Veth (P. J.)**, Java, geographisch, ethnologisch, historisch; second edition by J. F. Snelleman and J. F. Niermeyer, I p. 121–142. With 5 plates (section of the base, view on the base, relief of the base, half groundplan and half section). Description as in the first edition, but with all new data.

1896. **Brandes (J. L. A.)**, in Notulen Bat. Gen. XXXIV, p. 106—107. On Jātakamālā-tales.

1896. **Tissandier (A.)**, Cambodge et Java, p. 115—123. With pl. 27, gargoyle at the base; 28, relief of the first balustrade; 29, gateway; 30, stūpa's of the terraces, and in the text section and half groundplan, also niche with Buddha. Superficial description and bad drawings.

1896. **Notulen** Bat. Gen. XXXIV, p. 108. Proposition to bring a Buddha-image from the monument to the museum at Batavia, considered a violation of Barabuḍur by the authorities.

1896. **Groneman (J.)**, Een Boeddhisten-koning op den Bårâboedoer; Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. XXXIX, p. 367–378. The monument explained in Hīnayānistic sense.

1896–1897. **Notulen** Bat. Gen. XXXIV, p. 53–54, 80, 89; XXXV, p. 36, 50. On the survey of reliefs, omitted in the drawings.

1897. **Van Aalst (J.)**, Opgave van de basreliefs van den Boroboedoer, die geheel of gedeeltelijk gespaard zijn en niet zijn afgebeeld in het werk van Dr. Leemans; Notulen Bat. Gen. XXXV, Bijlage II, p. XVII–XXIII.

1897. **Grünwedel (A.)**, Buddhistische Studien, Veröffentl. a. d. Königl. Mus. f. Völkerk. V., p. 92–94 with plate 71 and 72 on Kinnara-jātaka; p. 97–99 with plate 76 en 77 on Maitrakanyakāvadāna.

1897. **Gallois (E.)**, Ruines et antiquités religieuses javanaises; Revue générale internationale VI, p. 43–47. Short description with bad drawing of a corner, view in a gallery, half section and quarter groundplan.

1898. **Leclercq (J.)**, Un séjour dans l'île de Java, p. 133–144. Impressions. With view in the fourth and relief of the second gallery [1]).

1898–1899. **Notulen** Bat. Gen. XXXVI, p. 119–120, 142–146; XXXVII, p. 50–52. On glass-negatives of Van Kinsbergen.

1898–1899. **Notulen** Bat. Gen. XXXVI, p. 200; XXXVII, p. 84–85, 158. On the condition of Barabuḍur.

1898–1899. **Notulen** Bat. Gen. XXXVI, p. 200; XXXVII, p. 158–159, 215, 229, and Bijlage XX, p. CXXXIII no. 18 d. Çiva-image in the vicinity.

1899. **Serrurier (L.)**, Nota over den toestand waarin eenige voorname monumenten van Midden-Java verkeeren; Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. XLI, p. 4–7.

[1]) The work published by the same author in 1907, „Les restes de la civilisation hindoue à Java", was not available.

1899. **Van Aalst (J.),** Opgaven omtrent verschillende Hindoe-oudheden, voorkomende in de Controle-afdeeling Prâbâlinggâ, regentschap Magĕlang, residentie Kĕdoe; Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. XLI, p. 397. Unfinished Buddha, destined for Barabuḍur, near Gondangan. (Reprinted in abridged form by *J. Knebel*, Beschrijving der Hindoe-oudheden in de residentie Kedoe, Rapp. Oudh. Comm. 1911, p. 238).

1899. **IJzerman (J. W.),** Over Boro-Boedoer; Tijdschr. Ned. Aardr. Genootsch., 2de Serie XVI, p. 307–334. General remarks; history of the Buddha; representations of Indra; the hells.

1899. **Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië,** II p. 327. Article Kunst (beeldende), by **G. P. Rouffaer.** On drawings and photographs.

1899. **Voorloopig verslag en Memorie van antwoord** on the Indian Budget for the year 1900; p. 8 and 27. It is reported that some Buddha-images, taken from the niches of Barabuḍur, have been presented to the king of Siam.

1899. **Notulen** Bat. Gen. XXXVII, p. 218–219. J. Groneman protests against the above mentioned report.

1899. **Catalogus** der Tentoonstelling van bouwkundige en ornamentale fragmenten van eenige Hindoe-monumenten op Midden-Java; no. 4–10, 17–32, 35–37, 41, 51, 62 and 63.

1900. **Notulen** Bat. Gen. XXXVIII, p. 37. Enclosure.

1900. **Gouv. Besluit** of 21 Juli no. 17, printed Notulen Bat. Gen. XXXVIII, p. 72–73. Nomination of a Committee, consisting of Dr. J. L. A. Brandes, T. van Erp and B. W. van de Kamer, in order to consider what measures should be taken for the preservation of Barabuḍur, and whether it would be advisable to replace the reliefs at the base by other stones and to bring the reliefs themselves to the museum at Batavia.

1900. **Exposition Universelle à Paris.** Guide à travers la section des Indes Néerlandaises, p. 269—273. Reproductions de statues et de bas-reliefs du sanctuaire bouddhique Bôrô-Boudour.

1900. **Notulen** Bat. Gen. XXXVIII, p. 73 and 123. Plan to cover the whole monument by a roof.

1900. **Notulen** Bat. Gen. XXXVIII, p. 95—96. New examination of the foundation.

1900. **Von Saher (E. A.),** De versierende kunsten in Nederlandsch Oost-Indië, p. 69–83. Specially architectural description; in particular the buried base and the system of Buddha's etc. In the text: view on the monument, groundplan, section, section of the base, photograph of the base, five basreliefs, the stūpa's of the terraces, view of the landscape. Of the large plates no. 6, 7, 16, reliefs; no. 17, one of the gateways; no. 18, ornament.

1900. **Brandes (J. L. A.),** in Notulen Bat. Gen. XXXVIII, p. 108. On mudrā of the Buddha's at the highest balustrade.

1900. **Patijn (J. A. N.),** Over het verdwijnen van den Boeroeboedoer; De Kroniek VI, p. 323–324 (also abridged in Tijdschr. v. N.-Indië 1900, p. 719–720). The neglect of the monument in every respect; also the giving away of sculptures to the king of Siam.

1901. Dispute in Tijdschr. v. Ned. Indië on the question of the king of Siam being presented with sculptures from Barabuḍur. **J. Groneman,** De Bârâboedoerbouwval, p. 316—319, defends himself: **J. A. N. Patijn,** p. 386—389, maintains his opinion; **J. F. Niermeyer,** Javaansche Hindoe-oudheden te

Bangkok en elders, p. 470–473, with note by Patijn; **J. Groneman**, Nog eens de Bârâboedoer, p. 710–712, again a self-defence.

1901. **Poensen (C.)**, Mangkubumi, Ngajogyakarta's eerste Sultan; Bijdr. Kon. Inst., 6de Reeks VIII, p. 287. Barabuḍur mentioned ± 1758.

1901. **Rouffaer (G. P.)**, Monumentale kunst op Java; De Gids II, p. 246–251. On the Buddha images, the open stūpa's, the gates, the art of the reliefs in general.

1901. **Pleyte (C. M.)**, Die Buddha-legende in den Skulpturen des Tempels van Bôrô-Budur. The series of the first gallery compared with the Lalitavistara-text. See also review of this book by **H. Kern** in Tijdschr. v. N. Indië 1902, p. 42–53 = Verspr. Geschr. IV, 1916, p. 189–199; by **A. Barth** in Bull. des rel. de l'Inde 4–5 (1902) p. 73; and by **J. S. Speyer** in Onze Eeuw 1902, p. 77–95, partly translated in Le Muséon, N. S. IV (1903) p. 124–134; comp. **H. H. Juynboll** in Ind. Gids 1902, I, p. 102–104; and further ibidem II p. 1118 sq. and Globus 82 no. 9, p. 146 sq.

1901. **Brandes (J. L. A.)**, Twee oude berichten over de Baraboedoer; Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. XLIV, p. 73—84. On the information dating from ± 1709 (see 1874 Meinsma) en 1758 (see 1901 Poensen).

1901. **Pleyte (C. M.)**, Gids voor den bezoeker van de Indische tentoonstelling in het Stedelijk Museum te Amsterdam, p. 13–39. Casts etc., from the Paris exhibition.

1901. **Brandes (J. L. A.)**, in Notulen Bat. Gen. XXXIX, p. 140. On the condition of the terraces.

1901. **Haeckel (E.)**, Aus Insulinde, Malayische Reisebriefe, p. 162–165. (Dutch translation, 1902, p. 189–193). Short and superficial description.

1902. **Rapport** over de werkzaamheden verricht naar aanleiding van het Gouvernements Besluit d.d. 21 Juli 1900 no. 17, met een voorstel ter restauratie van de Boroboedoer (= the report of the Barabuḍur-Committee). Not published.

1902. **Brandes (J. L. A.)**, Het gevaarvolle van het verklaren van de relief-tableau's aan de oude ruïnen op Java te vinden, als men den betrokken tekst niet kent; Notulen Bat. Gen. XL, Bijlage III, p. XXXVIII—XL. On the sequence of the relief series, and the way to read them.

1902. **Brandes (J. L. A.)**, De hoofdbeelden op de voorsprongen van den teerling der Tjandi Mendoet; Notulen Bat. Gen. XL, Bijlage XIII, p. CXXV, note, on the Bodhisattva's. Pag. CXXVI–CXXIX on the Çarabha-jātaka.

1902. **Brandes (J. L. A.)**, in Rapp. Oudh. Comm. 1902, p. 15. On the makara's.

1902. **Brandes (J. L. A.)**, Notice sur une espèce de draperie ornementale des anciens monuments hindous de Java Central; Hommage au Congrès des Orientalistes de Hanoi, p 11—12, with three plates. On triçūla-cakra-ornament and makara's.

1902. **Giesenhagen (K.)**, Auf Java und Sumatra, p. 100–103. Short description, with view of the monument, relief and view from the top. Also in Les temples du centre de Java; Bull. de la Soc. d'études coloniales IX, p. 449–454.

1903. **Foucher (A.)**, Le Buddha inachevé de Bôrô-Budur; Bull. Ec. Franç. d'Extr. Orient III, p. 78—80.

1903. **Brandes (J. L. A.)**, in Rapp. Oudh. Comm. p. 1–5, 16–17, 26, 67, with plates 32, 33 and 38 on the ornament, p. 75–76 on the way to Barabuḍur and the river-crossing.

1903. **Brandes (J. L. A.)**, Verbetering en aanvulling van de aanteekening (in Not. 1902 p. CXXV, see above); Notulen Bat. Gen. XLI, Bijlage II, p. V—XI. The Bodhisattva's, the climax in what is represented, omission of the Nirvāṇa.

1903. **Brandes (J. L. A.)**, Het nirvāṇa-tooneel en de Baraboedoer; Notulen Bat. Gen. XLI, Bijlage VIII, p. LVI–LX.

1903. **Van Asperen van der Velde (P. A.)**, De voornaamste bouwvallen uit den Hindoetijd op Java, Theos. Maandbl. v. Ned.-Indië III, p. 6–11. Theosophical explanation of the monument and the ornamentation.

1904. **Groneman (J.)**, Oudheidkundige Aanteekeningen I, p. 3–7 on the sixth Buddha; p. 37–39 on the roof.

1904. **Brandes (J. L. A.)**, De verzameling gouden godenbeelden gevonden bij het gehucht Gĕmoeroeh, bij Wanasaba; Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. XLVII, p. 560 and pl. 9. On Garuḍa.

1904. **Groneman (J.)**, 't Behoud van den Bârâboedoerbouwval; Weekbl. voor Indië I no. 31, p. 437–439. The proposed restoration, and the great roof.

1904. See 1906 Brandes and Jochim.

1905. **Groneman (J.)**, Oudheidkundige Aanteekeningen II, p. 14-18 and 31–44. On the great roof.

1905. **Groneman (J.)**, Voorname bezoekers van den Bârâboedoer; Weekbl. v. Indië I no. 45 and 46, p. 748–651 and 768–770.

1905. **Foucher (A.)**, L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra, I p. 271, 292–294, 305, 308, 310, 319, 348, 355, 364, 371, 380, 402, 414, 425, 439, 444, 617. Comparison of Gandhāra- and Barabuḍur-reliefs.

1905. **Notulen** Bat. Gen. XLIII, p. 9 and Bijlage XIII, p. XCIV no. 238a. A Buddha-head in the Museum at Batavia.

1905. See 1913 Brandes.

1905–6. **Brandes (J. L. A.)**, in Rapp. Oudh. Comm. p. 1–4 and plate 71–78. On the old form of the lowest staircase.

1905–6. **Pleyte (C. M.)**, Uit Soenda's voortijd; Het Daghet I, p. 488. Buddha-heads at Rumpin near Buitenzorg.

1906. **Brandes (J. L. A.)**, De makara als haartressieraad; Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. XLVIII, p. 24–26 and plates 1–2. Makara's on thrones. Dated March 1904.

1906. **Brandes (J. L. A.)**, Een Buddhistisch monniksbeeld, en naar aanleiding daarvan het een en ander over eenige der voornaamste mudrā's; Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. XLVIII, p. 40–49 and plate 1. The mudrā's of the Dhyāni-Buddha's. Dated April 1904.

1906. **Jochim (E. F.)**, Aanteekeningen naar aanleiding van een bezoek aan den Boroboedoer; Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. XLVIII, p. 13–20. Notes to Pleyte's Buddha-legende. Dated 1904.

1906. **Speyer (J. S.)**, De koopman, die tegen zijne moeder misdreef; Bijdr. Kon. Inst., 7de Reeks V, p. 181–206. The Maitrakanyakāvadāna.

1906. **Huber (E.)**, Recognition of an episode of the Rudrāyaṇāvadāna, according to Bull. Ec. Franç. d'Extr. Or. IX (1909) p. 23.

1906. **Sewell (R.)**, Antiquarian notes in Java; Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc. p. 423–428. Short description, especially with respect to the meaning of the sanctuary. With plate III (view on the monument, and building on a relief).

1906. **Groneman (J.),** Een Karma-legende. Relates Speyer's paper above-cited with 5 photographs of the Maitrakanyaka-reliefs.

1907. **De Beylié (L.),** L'architecture hindoue en Extrême Orient, p. 340–349 and fig. 301, view on Barabuḍur (Van Kinsbergen's photograph), 311, 319–324, 344, reliefs and parts of reliefs. On the style of the buildings, represented on the reliefs.

1907. **Parmentier (H.),** L'architecture interprétée dans les bas-reliefs anciens de Java; Bull. Ec. Franç. d'Extr. Or. VII, p. 1–60. Remarks, with illustrations, on the buildings, represented on Javanese reliefs; of the 119 specimens, 90 are to be found on Barabuḍur.

1907. **Groneman (J.),** Oudheidkundige aanteekeningen III, p. 9—12. Additions to the guide for the monument.

1907. **Gouv. Besluit** of 25 April no. 51, printed Notulen Bat. Gen. XLV, p. 49. Authorization to make photographs of Barabuḍur and to take the measures for preservation, suggested by the Barabuḍur-Committee. Both works are entrusted to T. van Erp, captain in the Engineers.

1907. **Tonnet (M.),** Oude vormen in nieuwe Nederlandsch-Indische Kunst; Elseviers Maandschrift, p. 84–97. On forms of objects represented at Barabuḍur to use in the present day, with illustrations from the reliefs of the base.

1907. **Notulen** Bat. Gen. XLV, p. 52. Instruction for the keeper of the pasanggrahan.

1907. **Groneman (J.),** Boeddhistische tempelbouwvallen in de Prâgâ-vallei, de tjandi's Bâràboedoer, Mĕndoet en Pawon. New edition of the guide for visitors. English translation in 1912.

1907–1911. **Van Erp (T.),** Quarterly reports on the „Herstellingen aan en photographische opname van den Boroboedoertempel." Not published.

1908. **Tonnet (M.),** Het werk der Commissie in Nederlandsch Indië voor Oudheidkundig Onderzoek op Java en Madoera; Bull. Ned. Oudh. Bond, 2de Reeks I, p. 27 on kālamakara-ornament with plate of a gateway; p. 90 sq. on reliefs, i. a. Jātakamālā, with plate first gallery.

1908. **Notulen** Bat. Gen. XLVI, p. 2 and 18–19. On the advisability of replacing the chief image.

1908. **Notulen** Bat. Gen. XLVI, p. 36 and 65. Authority is given to mr. Van Erp for further architectural survey.

1908. **Foucher (A.),** Sur le stûpa de Boro-Boudour; Journ. Asiat., 10me série XI, p. 137–137. Short account of his visit and the results.

1908. **Foucher (A.),** Une liste indienne des actes du Buddha; (Ecole prat. d. haut. étud. sect. d. scienc. religieus.), p. 4–15. Texts and representations of the chief incidents in the life of Buddha; those on Barabuḍur are also enumerated.

1908. **Van Erp (T.),** Nota naar aanleiding van de noodzakelijkheid van eenige aanvullende herstellingen en de wenschelijkheid van eenige zich verder uitstrekkende restauratiën aan den Boroboedoertempel. The advisability of a further restoration. Not published. Comp. Notulen XLVI, p. 98.

1908. **Van Hinloopen Labberton (D.),** Wat de Bâràboedoer ons leert; Theos. Maandbl. v. Ned. Indië VII, p. 514–527 and 557–565 (comp. 507–513). Theosophical explication, with symbolism of the numbers.

1908. **Havell (E. B.),** Indian sculpture and painting. On Barabuḍur p. 110-131,

with pl. 2, Dhyāni-Buddha; 33–37, reliefs of the first; 38, of the second gallery; 42, Buddha-head. Discussion of the character of Barabuḍur art; the details often inaccurate.

1909. **Van Erp (T.),** in Notulen Bat. Gen. XLVII, p. 2—8. Information on the restoration and the photographs.

1909. **Foucher (A.),** Notes d'archéologie bouddhique; Bull. Ec. Franç. d'Extr. Or. IX, p. 1—8, with fig. 1–4 (view of the monument, quarter groundplan, half section and gate) on the meaning of the building; p. 9–43, with fig. 5–24 (reliefs) on the tales, represented on the chief wall first gallery lower series; and p. 43–45 on the Dhyāni-Buddha's. With correction on p. 831.

1909. **Van Erp (T.),** Hindu monumental art in Central Java; Twentieth Century Impressions of Netherlands India, p. 150–157. With view on the monument, view on a staircase, gargoyle, view of the covered base, corner of the monument, Buddha-head, types of Buddha's, gateway of the fourth gallery, quarter groundplan, half section and view of the stūpa's on the terraces.

1909. **Foucher (A.),** Le „grand miracle" du Buddha à Çrâvastî; Journ. asiat. 10e serie XIII, p. 23 and 52–53, with plate 5. The Great Miracle on the chief wall of the fourth gallery.

1909. **Juynboll (H. H.),** Catalogus van 's Rijks Ethnographisch Museum; V, Javaansche oudheden. Pag. 37–38, no. 1607–1608, 2071–2072, 1690, 2924, heads of Buddha's; no. 1609–1611, one left and two right hands of Buddha's from Barabuḍur. With plate on p. 38. Pag. 42 no. 1907 and 3261, fragments of reliefs; p. 151 no. 2402 (with plate), bronze bell; p. 198–199 no. 1843, so called Majapahit-kriss; p. 213 no. 1842, bronze tray; p. 96 no. 1841, bronze image of Avalokiteçvara. These last objects found probably in the central stūpa.

1909. **Rouffaer (G. P.),** in the Beschrijving van Tjandi Singasari by J. L. A. Brandes, p. 52 and 83. On the sculptures presented to the king of Siam in 1896.

1909. **Notulen** Bat. Gen. XLVII, p. 140–141 and Bijlage XV, p. CXI no. 596 e. Bronze Buddha-image and five Chinese coins, found in the stūpa's of the terraces; the first named now in the Museum at Batavia. Account of the finding by **T. van Erp,** and report on the coins by **J. P. Moquette.**

1910. **Fergusson (J.),** History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, revised etc. by **J. Burgess** and **R. Rhené Spiers,** II p. 422–429. Rather poor description of Barabuḍur, with the same illustrations as in the edition of 1876, and a plate with photographs of three reliefs. See the review by the present author: Een protest, Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. LIII (1911), p. 364 and 368–369.

1910. **Gouv. Besluit** of 18 Januari no. 19, printed Notulen Bat. Gen. XLVIII, p. 14. Mr. Van Erp is authorized to extend measures for the restoration.

1910. **Van Erp (T.),** Verklaring van eenige Jâtaka-tafereelen van Boroboedoer; Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. LII, p. 82–98, with three plates.

1910. **Krom (N. J.),** in Rapp. Oudh. Comm. p. 5–17. On Jātakamālā-reliefs (with addition in Rapp. 1911 p. 26 and correction Oudh. Versl. 1912, p. 58) and on Bodhisattva's.

1910. **Knebel (J.),** Beschrijving van de Hindoe-oudheden in de Residentie Samarang; Rapp. Oudh. Comm. 1910, p. 213. Two Buddha's from Barabuḍur, now before the regents house at Dĕmak.

1910. **Groneman (J.),** Oudheidkundige Aanteekeningen IV, p. 4–31 and 50–59. Additions to the guide for the monument.

1910. **Notulen** Bat. Gen. XLVIII, p. 66–69 and 82. On mr. Van Erp continuing the restoration-work at Barabuḍur.

1910. **Notulen** Bat. Gen. XLVIII, p. 62, 105, 125–132, 139. On a new Barabuḍur-monograph.

1910. See 1917 Van Erp.

1911. **Krom (N. J.)**, Restaureeren van oude bouwwerken; Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. LIII, p. 11. On the restoration.

1911. **Kern (H.)**, Het Hindoeïsme; in Colijn, Neerlands Indië I, p. 234–236. Short remarks, with plate op p. 201, Dhyāni-Buddha; 227, view (photo-Van Kinsbergen); 230–231, reliefs of the first balustrade.

1911. **Smith (V. A.)**, A history of fine art in India and Ceylon, p. 261–266. Specially on the character of Barabuḍur-art. With fig. 198, relief; and pl. 52, Buddha-image.

1911. **Van Eerde (J. C.)**, Hindu-Javaansche en Balische eeredienst; Bijdr. Kon. Inst. 65, p. 22, note. The relation between Barabuḍur and Mĕndut.

1911. **Van Erp (T.)**, Oudheidkundige Aanteekeningen I; Tijdschrift Bat. Gen. LIII. A. De onderlinge ligging van Borobudur, Mendut en Pawon en hunne oriënteering, p. 582–585 with plate 1 (situation); B. Eenige beschouwingen omtrent de beteekenis der sculpturen, deel uitmakende van Tjandi Pawon's uitwendige versiering, p. 593–595, with plate 6–8 (reliefs). On the wishing-trees.

1911. Referring to three articles on the Barabuḍur-restoration in the „Java-Bode", the Indische Gids II p. 1376–1378 treats the unfinished chief image, and the Koloniaal Weekblad XI, no. 43 p. 3, the preservation of the monument, with photographs of the restoration-work.

1911. **Havell (E. B.)**, The Ideals of Indian Art, p. 113, 130 sq.

1911. **Notulen** Kon. Inst. 1911–'12 (Bijdr. 67), p. III sq. On a new monograph.

1911. **Notulen** Bat. Gen. XLIX, p. 117–118. Replacing of Buddha-heads.

1911. **Kern (H.)**, De bijschriften op de beeldhouwwerken van Boroboedoer's bedolven voet; published by T. van Erp in Notulen Bat. Gen. XLIX, Bijlage V, p. XLVII–L. Corrections and additions to the legenda of 1896.

1911. **Krom (N. J.)**, in Rapp. Oudh. Comm., p. 25–26, 29–30. Examination of the road between Barabuḍur and Pawon.

1911. **Lijst van fotografische opnamen** van de Oudheidkundige Commissie, 1901–1911; Rapp. Oudh. Comm., Bijlage 60. No. 277 (p. 82) reproduction old photo; no. 398–440 (p. 86–88) ornaments; no. 441–448 (p. 88) views on the monument; no. 904 and 905 (p. 104) reliefs with thrones; no. 969–976 (p. 107) views on the monument; no. 986–999 (p. 108) reliefs and ornaments; no. 1007–1105 (p. 108–109) reliefs; no. 1106–1111 (p. 109) lowest staircases; no. 1122–1135 (p. 110) panorama, reliefs, etc.

1911–1912. **Notulen** Bat. Gen. XLIX, p. 134 and L, p. 27. On the condition of the glass-negatives Van Kinsbergen.

1912. **Notulen** Bat. Gen. L, p. 23–24 and Bijlage V, p. CXXXVIII no. 1760 i and 1774a. Bronze spoon and tray, found near Barabuḍur, now in the Museum at Batavia.

1912. **De Vink (J. J.)**, Report on an excavation at the East side of the monument, in Notulen Bat. Gen. L, p. 24–26, with 2 plates (view of the site, and reconstruction of an urn and of the border of a circular cavity). With note by the present author.

1912. **Oudh. Verslag.** First quarter, p. 3; all photographic material brought from Barabuḍur to the Archaeological Depart. at Batavia. Third quarter, p. 58; condition of the monument.

1912. **Scheltema (J. F.),** Monumental Java, p. 231–284. Impressions. With plate 1, view or the monument; 28, base; 29–33, galleries; 34, Buddha in niche; 35, relief; 36–37, galleries; 38, gateway; 39–40, terraces with stūpa's and central-stūpa.

1912. **Scheltema (J. F.),** The late King of Siam as traveller and antiquary; The Antiquary, New Series VIII, p. 289–290. Hīnayānistic explanations by H. M., and the history of 1896.

1912. **Van Erp (T.),** Oudheidkundige Aanteekeningen II, Over den toekomstigen Buddha Maitreya en het voorkomen van Maitreya-legenden op de Borobudur-stupa; Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. LIV, p. 427–454. With pl. 4–9, Maitreya-reliefs.

1912. **Lijst der foto's** van het Bat. Gen.; Notulen Bat. Gen. L, Bijlage IX, no. 303–466 (p. CLXXVIII) reliefs buried base; no. 519 (ibid.) and 636 (p. CLXXX) views on the monument; no. 719 (p. CLXXXII) gate; no. 721–722 (ibid.) reliefs; 751–753 (ibid.) Buddha, Buddha-head and lion.

1912. **Mookerji (R.),** Indian Shipping, p. 45–49, 151, 157 and plates: frontispiece and six other representations of reliefs with ships. („Indian adventurers sailing out to colonize Java"!).

1912. **Notulen** Kon. Inst. 1912–'13 (Bijdr. 68), p. X. On the new monograph.

1913. **Brandes (J. L. A.),** Slecht werk aan de Hindu-oudheden op Java; Rapp. Oudh. Dienst, p. 15–23. On lowest series of reliefs balustrade first gallery, ornament balustrade second gallery, and gateways to the third gallery. Written before or in 1905.

1913. **Brandes (J. L. A.),** Fout of finesse?; Rapp. Oudh. Dienst, p. 25–26, on the „recalcitrant spiral"-ornament on Barabuḍur. Written as above.

1913. **Jochim (E. F.),** Airawata. Indra's witte olifant in menschengedaante aan den Boroboedoer; Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. LV, p. 202–208.

1913. **Van Erp (T.),** De restauratie van den Boroboedoer. Account of a lecture in Bull. Kol. Mus. te Haarlem, no. 52, p. 46–48.

1913. **Vogel (J. Ph.),** The Borobudur restored; Journ. Roy. As. Soc., p. 421–422. Short report on the finished restoration.

1913. **Krom (N. J.),** Korte gids voor den Boro-Budur. Second edition in 1914; Javanese translation in 1915; third edition in 1921; English translation in 1921; fourth edition in 1927.

1913. **Van Erp (T.),** Het makara-motief aan den Boroboedoer; Het Ned. Ind. Huis, Oud en Nieuw I, p. 195–205. With 7 plates of this ornament.

1913. **Oudh. Verslag.** Fourth quarter, p. 90; the glass-negatives send to Holland. Ibidem, p. 92; condition of the monument.

1914. **Jochim (E. F.),** Determineeren van Bodhisatwa's; Bijdr. Kon. Inst. 69, p. 10—30. On the Bodhisattva's, including those at Barabuḍur.

1914. **Huyser (J. G.),** De naga in de Javaansche kunst; Het Ned. Ind. Huis, Oud en Nieuw II, p. 13–16. On nāga's and serpents, with plate of a relief.

1914. **Oudh. Verslag.** First quarter, Bijlage E, p. 27–28. New list of photographs of Barabuḍur by J. van Kinsbergen.

1914. **Oudh. Verslag.** First quarter, Bijlage F; List of photographs in the Arch. De-

part., series A no. 9–10 (p. 29) excavation in the vicinity (see 1911 De Vink) and corner first gallery; no. 241–243 (p. 33) inscriptions of the buried base.

1914. **Oudh. Verslag.** Third quarter, p. 188 and fourth quarter, p. 210. The subsidence of one of the walls of Barabuḍur, with photographs, no. 1882–1885.

1914. **Inventaris** der Hindoe-oudheden I, Rapp. Oudh. Dienst. Pag. 28 no. 56, Buddha-heads at Rumpin; p. 192–193 no. 613, Buddha's at Dĕmak; p. 246 no. 803, unfinished Buddha at Gondangan; p. 273 no. 887, objects found near Barabuḍur.

1914–1915. **Notulen** Kon. Inst. 1913–'14 (Bijdr. 69), p. XXXIX and 1914–'15 (Bijdr. 70), p. VI and XXI. On the new monograph.

1915. **Lulius van Goor (M. E.),** De Buddhistische non geschetst naar gegevens der Pāli-literatuur, p. 237–238. The nuns in the Rudrāyaṇāvadāna, with 2 plates.

1915. **Van Eerde (J. C.),** Reliefs van den Boro-boedoer; Gids voor de tentoonling betreffende Oud-Javaansch en hedendaagsch Balisch Hindoeïsme, p. 35–47. Buddha-legend.

1916. **Bosch (F. D. K.),** Eene onderscheiding van staande en zittende Buddhafiguren op de Reliefs van de Borobudur en elders; Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. LVII, p. 97–116.

1916. **Huyser (J. G.),** Het sirihstel in den loop der eeuwen; Ned. Indië Oud en Nieuw I, p. 133–137. Possibility that on Barabuḍur the use of sirih is represented, with plate of a relief.

1916. **Krom (N. J.),** De hoofdpersoon der vierde gaanderij van Boro-Budur; Bijdr. Kon. Inst. 71, p. 579–583. Samantabhadra the chief person on the fourth gallery.

1916. **Oudh. Verslag.** Third quarter, p. 72–73; measures against moss on the walls. Fourth quarter, p. 127–128; on the wall that has given way.

1916. **Notulen** Kon. Inst. 1916 (Bijdr. 72), p. X, XXVIII–XXXI. On the new monograph.

1917. **Van Erp (T.),** De Boroboedoer-tempel op Java; De Ingenieur 32, p. 113–123. Description of the monument. With plate 1, section; 2–3, groundplans; 4, view on the monument; 5, entrance; 6, base; 7, gallery; 8, Buddha in niche; 9, gateways; 10–11, gargoyles; 12, spiral-ornament; 13, terraces with central-stūpa.

1917. **Vogel (J. Ph.),** Two notes on Javanese archaeology, I The ship of Boro-Budur; Journ. Roy. As. Soc., p. 367–371. On the wrong interpretation of reliefs with ships.

1917. **Oudh. Verslag.** Second quarter, p. 38; damage by lightning on the central-stūpa.

1917. **Kern (H.),** Over de bijschriften op het beeldhouwwerk van Boro-budur; Verspr. Geschriften VII, p. 145–156. Combination of the articles of 1896 and 1911, with two facsimile's.

1917. **Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië,** second edition, I p. 381–383. New article Boroboedoer.

1917. **Krom (N. J.),** Beschrijving der Hindoe-oudheden in de Verzameling Indonesische en Chineesche kunst te Leeuwarden; Ned. Indië Oud en Nieuw II, p. 123–124, with pl. 1. On Buddha-head from Barabuḍur. (Reprinted in the guide for this collection, p. 25–27).

1917. **Van Erp (T.)**, Eenige mededeelingen betreffende de beelden en fragmenten van Boroboedoer in 1896 geschonken aan Z. M. den Koning van Siam; Bijdr. Kon. Inst. 73, p. 285—310; as appendix an index of the condition of the Buddha-images. With plate 1, Buddha-types; 2, lion-types; 3, view on the monument of 1873; 4, gate with lions in the highest balustrade; 5, makara-gargoyle; 6, lower staircases; 7, kāla-head from staircase; 8, kāla-head from niches; 9, kāla-head from gate. Written in 1910.

1918. **Krom (N. J.)**, De Bodhisattwa's van den Mĕndut; Bijdr. Kon. Inst. 74, p. 420–421, 423, 429, 435–436. On Bodhisattva's, including those at Barabuḍur.

1918. **Oudh. Verslag.** First quarter, p. 2–3; endeavour to demolish a relief. Second quarter, p. 497; on the environs. Third quarter, p. 96; in the wall that had given way no further change is observed. Fourth quarter, p. 167; on Buḍur as the old name of the sanctuary.

1918. **Notulen** Kon. Inst. 1918 (Bijdr. 74), p. XXXI sq., XXXVI and XLII. On the new monograph.

1918. **Foucher (A.)**, L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra, II, 1, p. 24, 34, 43, 258, 264-265, 267-268, 276, 333. Comparison with Gandhāra.

1919. **De Groot (J. J. M.)**, Der Thūpa. On the stūpa in general; especially p. 48–49 on Barabuḍur.

1919. **Krom (N. J.)**, De Sumatraansche periode der Javaansche geschiedenis, p. 23–29. Relation to the Çailendra's.

1919. **Mahn (G.)**, Der Tempel von Boro-Budur, p. 9 sq. on the symbolism; p. 79–89 description (errors in the details). With pl. 1 and 2, view of the monument; 3-7, 13, 14, 19, 21, 22, 24, galleries; 8–11, 15, 16, reliefs; 12 base; 17, 18 niches; 20, gateway; 23, central stūpa; 25-28, small stūpa's.

1919. **Notulen** Kon. Inst. 1919 (Bijdr. 75), p. XIII, XVIII, XLIV, on the new monograph; p. XXVI on the architectural description.

1920. **With (K.)**, Java. Specially p. 28–33, 56–66 and plate 1, view of the monument; 2, detail; 3, gargoyle; 4, gallery; 5, gateways; 6, 7, terraces; 8–12, Buddha's; 13–33, reliefs.

1920. **Krom, (N. J.)**, De Buddha-beelden van Boroboedoer; Ned. Indië Oud en Nieuw, 5, p. 307–320, with 10 plates.

1920. **Hornell (J.)**, The origins and ethnological significance of Indian boat-designs, Mem. As. Soc. Beng. VII, 3, p. 218–221 with plate 28 and 29. The ships of Barabuḍur.

1920. **Oudh. Verslag.** First quarter, p. 22–23. List of photographs Arch. Depart. no. 4526, 4527, 4573, views; 4537–4562, 4564–4568, 4572, reliefs and galleries; 4563, gate; 4569, ornament; 4570, 4571, 4572, Buddha's. Third quarter p. 78; on a way to Barabuḍur.

1920. **Notulen** Kon. Inst. 1920 (Bijdr. 76), p. XIII on monograph; XXXVI on architectural description; XXXIV and XLII on old drawings.

1920. **Much (J.)**, Boro Budur. Ein Buch der Offenbarung. Not in print.

1920. **Havell (E. B.)**, A handbook of Indian Art; p. 35 affinity with Sānchi art, comp. p. 161 and 199. With pl. LVIII A, Buddha-head[1]).

[1]) Buddha-heads from Barabuḍur are also reproduced elsewhere; for instance Examples of Indian sculpture at the British Museum (India Society, 1923) pl. II (Raffles-collection), and Indische Beeldhouwkunst I (Ver. Vrienden Aziat. kunst, 1923) pl. XII and XIII (collection-Scheurleer).

1920. **Krom (N. J.)**, Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche kunst, Chapter IX and X. Second edition 1923. Detailed description, with plate 25, groundplan; 26, section; 27, view; 28, gallery; 29, gateway; 30 terraces and chief stūpa; 31, relief; 32 Buddha.

1920. **Bosch (F. D. K.)**, Het steenen zuiltje van Kadiloewih; Not. Bat. Gen. LVIII, p. 53–55. Connection with the name Buḍur in Nāg. 77.

1920. **Finot (L.)**, Review of the Barabuḍur-monograph; Bull. Ec. Franç. d'Extr. Or. XX no. 4, p. 138–149.

1921. **Elliot (Ch.)**, Hinduism and Buddhism, III p. 165–167.

1921. **Bosch (F. D. K.)**, Een hypothese omtrent den oorsprong der Hindoe-Javaansche kunst, Hand. 1st Congr. Taal-, Land- en Volkenk., 1919, p. 134–138 and pl. 11, 13–15, reliefs and Buddha in niche. On āsana and toraṇa.

1921. **Poerbatjaraka**, Een hypothese ter verklaring van den naam Boroboedoer; ibid. p. 287–290.

1921. **Krom (N. J.)**, Verbetering en aanvulling der reliefbeschrijving van Barabuḍur; Oudh. Versl. second quarter, p. 65–68.

1921. **Brandts Buys (J. S.)**, De ontwikkelingsmogelijkheden van de muziek op Java; Praeadv. Congr. Bandoeng p. 77. On musical instruments.

1921. **Cohn (W.)**, Indische Plastik. Second edition 1922, p. 83—85 and pl. 147, detail with niches; 148, 149, Buddha's; 150–156, reliefs. On Buddha's and reliefs.

1921. **Oudh. Verslag.** Second quarter, p. 43. Damage done to the monument.

1921. **Notulen** Kon. Inst. 1921 (Bijdr. 77), p. IV, on monograph; XXVIII, on architectural description.

1921. **Krom (N. J.)**, Een nieuwe Boroboedoer-tekst; Djawa 1, p. 85–88. The Gaṇḍavyūha.

1921. **Van Erp (T.)**, De Boroboedoer. Vacantiecursus voor geografen te Amsterdam, no. 3.

1922. **Bosch (F. D. K.)**, Review of the monograph; Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. 61, p. 223–267.

1922. **Bosch (F. D. K.)**, Het Awataṃsaka, de Gaṇḍawyūha en Barabuḍur; Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. 61, p. 368—303.

1922. Die Buddha-Legende auf den Flachreliefs der ersten Galerie des Stūpa von Boro-budur, Java; Verkleinerte Wiedergabe der Umrisszeichungen von **F. C. Wilsen.**

1922. **Foucher (A.)**, L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra, II, 2, p. 575, 579, 587, 622—626, 684, 688, 694, 701, 704, 707, 708, 710, 732, 751, 767–770, 786. With plate 512, 513, 516, 517, reliefs; 561, 580, Buddha's. On the composition of the reliefs, the Buddha's, the art of Barabuḍur.

1922. **Oudh. Verslag.** Second and third quarter, p. 45– and 47. Control of the walls.

1922. **Notulen** Kon. Inst. 1922 (Bijdr. 78) p. IX. On architectural description. Also Not. 1924 (Bijdr. 80), p. XIX and Not. 1925 (Bijdr. 81), p. XI.

1923. **Van Erp (T.)**, Hindu-Javaansche beelden, thans te Bangkok; Bijdr. Kon. Inst. 79, p. 492–507 and 515. With plate 1, lions; 2, gargoyles; 3, guardian; 4, relief.

1923. **Van Erp (T.)**, Voorstellingen van vaartuigen op de reliefs van den Boroboedoer; Ned. Indië Oud en Nieuw 8, p. 227–255. With 10 plates.

1923. **Notulen** Kon. Inst. 1923 (Bijdr. 79), p. V. On English translation of the monograph. Also Not. 1925 (Bijdr. 81), p. XXIV.

1923. **Van Erp (T.)**, De leeuwen van den Barabudur; Oudh. Versl., first and second quarter, p. 39–54. With groundplan and 2 plates.

1923. **Cammerloher (H.)**, Die Pflanzendarstellungen auf den Reliefs des Borobudur; Natur 14, p. 222–229.

1924. **Hoenig (A.)**, Das Formproblem von Borobudur. With plate 1, view; 7–10, plans and sections. The building was originally intended to become a temple on a large scale.

1924. **Karny (H. H.)**, Ein Besuch beim Borobudur; Zeitschr. f. Buddhismus 5, p. 183–199. Specially on the chief image and on Pleyte's Buddha-legende. With pl. 1, view from a gallery; 2, the chief image; 3-6, reliefs.

1924. **Ijiri (S.)**, Bârâboedoer. Japanese translation of introductory chapter and Buddha-legend from the monograph. With plate 1, view; 3 groundplan and section; 4, 5, Buddha's; 6, gateway and gargoyle; 9, gallery and terrace; 8–12, reliefs.

1925. **Vogel (J. Ph.)**, The relation between the art of India and Java, in The influences of Indian art (India Society), p. 55–65. With plate 1, view; 2, groundplan; 3, gateway.

1925. **Kunst (J.)** and **Kunst—Van Wely (C. J. A.)**, De toonkunst van Bali, p. 71, 82, 113, 124, 125, 151, 154 sqq., 172, 215, 241-244. On musical instruments. With pl. 15, 45, 47, 50, reliefs with instruments. Additions in Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. 65, p. 465-467.

1925. **Poerbatjaraka**, Het Borobudurprobleem; Bijdr. Kon. Inst. 81, p. 523–537. Refutation of Hoenig's idea.

1926. **Karny (H. H.)**, Neues vom Borobudur; Zeitschr. f. Buddhismus 7, p. 92-103. On the studies of Cammerloher and the theory of Hoenig. With pl. 1-3, 5, reliefs; 7, birds-eye-view; 8, 9, sections from Hoenig.

1926. **Krom (N. J.)**, Sculptuur, tekst en traditie op Barabuḍur; Gedenkschr. Kon. Inst. p. 110–128. With 4 plates of reliefs.

1926. **Krom (N. J.)**, Die Barabuḍur-Funde; Zeitschr. f. Buddhismus 7, p. 340–343. With plate 1, Lokeçvara-bronze; 2, tray; 3, kriss; 4, Buddha-bronze. On the objects, found in the central stūpa.

INDEX

Aalst (van), 39, II 340, 341.
Abhāsvara, 76.
Abhidhānacinṭāmaṇi, 53.
Abhidharma, 56, 61, II 281, 316.
Abhidharmakoça, 61.
Abhidharmakoçavyākhyā, 63.
Āçā, II 3, 6, 14, 15, 17, 20, 21, 33, 38.
Acalasthirā, II 4, 6, 18, 19, 21, 37.
Açokāvadānamālā, 231, 404, II 318.
Açvaghoṣa, II 249.
Aḍakavatī, 170.
Adhideva, II 318.
Ādi-Buddha, 77, II 99, 145, 146, 147, 154, 166, 167, 323.
Agastya-jātaka, 330.
Agni, 349.
Agnikorova, 71.
Agnitoraṇa, 71.
Aiçvarika, II 145.
Airāvata, 173, 188, 194, 216, 244, 279, 281, 332, 334, 349, 408, 410, 413, II 84, 126, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 276.
Airlangga, II 313.
Ajaṇṭā, 106, 115, 120, 121, 128, 132, 136, 142, 145, 153, 160, 174, 180, 181, 191, 202, 204, 205, 215, 277, 285, 315, 321, 322, 334, 335, 339, 341, 349, 363, 369, 370, 372, 375, 377, 380, 382, 384, 387, 393, 422, II 86, 87, 89, 134, 236.
Ākāçagarbha, II 102, 273, 274, 292. See also Khagarbha.
Akaniṣṭha, 76, 77.
Akṣobhya, II 146, 147, 150, 156, 158, 165, 282, 294, 295, 300, 301, 304, 306, 311.
Amarāvatī, 105, 112, 114, 115, 120, 131, 157, 171, 173, 203, 204, 206, 210, 229, 277, 338, 478.
Amitābha, II 8, 9, 39, 55, 92, 102, 103, 105, 106, 109, 146, 150, 171, 260, 263, 264, 267, 272, 273, 282, 293, 295, 296, 301, 311, 321.
Amitatosala, II 20, 21.
Amitāyurdhyānasūtra, II 269.
Amoghapāça, II 214, 271, 295, 296, 306, 323.
Amoghasiddha, II 146, 150, 151, 282, 300, 301, 304, 311, 313.
Amoghavajra, II 2, 6, 99.
Āmrapālī, II 283.
Anabhraka, 76.
Aṇāla, 220.
Ānanda (patriarch), 57, 58, II 68, 283.
Ananda (Çākya-prince), 151, 152.
Anandagarbha, II 307.
Ananyagāmin, II 4, 9, 12, 13, 56.
Anāthapiṇḍada, 461.
Anderson, II 293.
Angga, 423, 424.
Angkor Thom, II 229, 242.
Angkor Vat, 64, 65.
Anuvaineya, 172.
Apalāla, II 283.
Apramāṇābha, 76.
Apramāṇaçubha, 76.
Aputra-jātaka, 352.
Ārāḍa Kālāpa, 177, 178, 182, 218.
Arjuna, 150.
Arjunavijaya, II 298.
Arjunavivāha, II 296.
Arūpadhātu, 76, 77, II 146.
Āryaçūra, see Çūra.
Āryamañjuçrīnāmaṣṭaçatakam, II 270.
Āryatārābhaṭṭārikānāmaṣṭottaraçatakastotra, II 54.
Asangga, II 1, 72, 74, 75, 76, 99, 315, 317, 319, 320, 325, 326, 327, 329, 330, 331.
Asanggisattra, 76.
Asipatatra, 72.
Asita, 121, 134, 135, 136, 184, II 208.
Asperen van der Velde (van), II 343.

Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā, II 24, 317.
Asu, 17, 18, II 293.
Atapa, 76, 77.
Āṭavika, II 283.
Āvā, II 5, 6.
Avadānaçataka, 59, 60, 230, 231, 239, 243, 244, 246, 278, 310, 403, 405, 417, 422, 424, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 457, 458, 459, 461, 463, 470, 473, II 282, 318, 319.
Avalokiteçvara, 80, II 4, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 39, 54, 55, 65, 92, 96, 102, 103, 105, 106, 109, 133, 145, 146, 156, 171, 201, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 267, 268, 272, 273, 291, 292, 293, 295, 297, 305, 321, 339, 345.
Avataṃsaka, II 2, 99, 114, 320.
Avīci, 66, 68, 80.
Avidūrenidāna 99, 137, 229.
Aviṣahya-jātaka, 326, 327.
Avṛha, 76, 77.
Axon, 245.
Aymonier, 64.
Ayogṛha-jātaka, 387.
Ayomaya, 305.

Babad tanah Djawi, 3, 31.
Bāhubajra, II 314.
Bajradhātvīçvarī, II 309. See also Dhātvīçvarī.
Bajraka, II 305.
Bajralakṣmī, II 305.
Bajrapura, II 305.
Bajrāsana, II 305.
Balāha, II 133, 134.
Bali, 67, 68, 74, 342, 454, II 306, 326.
Bangkok, 406.
Baratĕngah, 7.
Barth, 117, 231, II 342.
Batavia, 18, 37, 277, II 97, 166, 172, 236, 333, 336, 340, 341, 343, 346, 347.
Baud, 37.
Bauddhakāvya, II 299.
Beal, 63, 64, 73, 75, 76, 77, 196, 310, 401, 443, 448, II 9, 66, 68, 73, 99, 133, 144, 168, 287, 316.
Benares, 103, 104, 186, 219, 220, 224, 226, 301, 305, 361, 362, 363, 364, 424, 457, 461, 475, 476, II 255, 281, 291.
Bendall, II 1.
Berar, II 5.
Berlin 40.
Beylié (de), 64, II 344.
Bhadracarī, II 78, 99.
Bhadrakalpāvadānamālā, 231, 401.
Bhagvānlāl Indrajī, 334, II 97, 155, 158, 166, 167.
Bhallāṭiya-jātaka, 240, 245, 301.
Bhallika, 212, 214.
Bhangala, II 307.
Bharāḍa, II 305, 313.
Bharadwaja, 4.
Bharhut, 115, 171, 173, 206, 239, 303, 304, 338, 356, 364, 366, 369, 374, 377.
Bhiru, 283, 284, 292, 296, 300.
Bhirukaccha, 284, 300.
Bhiṣmottaranirghoṣa, II 5, 6.
Bhiṣmottarasanggheṣa, II 3, 6, 14, 16, 17, 21, 33.
Bhṛkuṭī, II 295.
Bhūmipattana, 71.
Bima, 32.
Bimasvarga, 74.
Bimbisāra, 179, 180, 181, 220, 223, 237, 282, 283, 285, 286, 287, 288, 292.
Bisa-jātaka, 354.
Bleeker, 36, II 335.
Blonay (de), II 54.
Bodh-Gayā, II 168.
Bodhicaryāvatāra, II 98.
Bodhicitta, II 301.
Bodhihṛdayaçīladānasūtra, II 322.
Bodhimaṇḍa, 194, 195, 197, 199, 200, 203, 206, 209, 219, 220, II 4, 180, 191.
Bodhisattvabhūmi, II 74.
Bodhisattvajātaka, II 319.
Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā, 231, 239, 241, 243, 261, 266, 314, 406, 447.
Bordier, II 338.
Borneo, II 243.
Bosch, 7, 24, II 114, 115, 156, 248, 249, 250, 251, 253, 257, 259, 307, 320, 348, 350.
Bradjanalan, 17.
Brahmā, 76, 113, 114, 116, 117, 129, 130, 131, 132, 138, 139, 140, 156, 170, 172, 179, 187, 196, 197, 198, 212, 215, 216, 217, 218, 227, 466, II 70, 71, 89, 275, 276, 277, 298, 299, 311.
Brahmadatta, 475, 476.
Brahma-jātaka, 380.
Brahmakāyika, Brahma-heaven, 76, 107, 116, 192, 380, 381, 448.
Brāhmaṇa-jātaka, 343.
Brahmaparṣadya, 76.
Brahmapurohita, 76.
Brahmottara, 305, 309.

Brandes, 7, 14, 15, 16, 19, 22, 23, 24, 31, 32, 35, 42, 43, 44, 45, 49, 51, 57, 58, 59, 73, 74, 312, 386, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 439, II 110, 147, 165, 192, 193, 216, 247, 268, 271, 280, 284, 285, 286, 291, 292, 295, 298, 313, 337, 338, 340, 341, 342, 343, 345, 347.
Brandts Buys, II 240, 243, 244, 350.
Bṛhaṭphala, 76.
Brill, 38.
Brumund, I, 19, 21, 35, 38, II 160, 161, 162, 170, 171, 335, 336, 337.
Bubrah, II 293.
Bubukṣah, II 298.
Buddhacarita, 172.
Buddhaghosa, 232.
Buddhānusmṛtisamādhisūtra, 73.
Buddha pamutus, II 298.
Buddhavaṃsa, 232.
Buddingh, 19, II 161, 334, 336.
Budha, 5.
Buḍur, 7, II 350.
Buitenzorg, II 339, 343.
Bukit Gombaḥ, 19.
Bumin, II 333.
Bumi-sĕgara, 33, II 333.
Burgess, 19, 105, 112, 115, 131, 136, 153, 160, 171, 203, 204, 206, 210, 229, 321, 334, 338, 339, 364, 369, 375, 380, 393, 478, II 97, 267, 339, 345.
Burlingame, 232.
Burma, 13, II 386.
Burnell, II 337, 338.
Burnouf, II 2, 6, 85, 133, 144.
Busken Huet, II 337.

Calcutta, II 7, 293.
Callenfels (van Stein), 450, II 244.
Cambodia, 132, 136, 202, II 196.
Cambridge, II 2, 7.
Cammerloher, II 351.
Campā (India), 423, 424.
Campā (Annam), 174, II 196, 288.
Campeyya-jātaka, 404, 423, 424.
Candakaraṇa, II 323.
Candakinnara-jātaka, 240, 245, 303, 304.
Candra, 138, 212.
Candragomin, 63, II 317.
Candraprabhā, 283, 291, 301.
Cantakaparva, II 298.
Capellen (van der), 34, II 334.
Cariyāpiṭaka, 232, 360.
Catudvāra-jātaka, 308.
Caturmahārājakāyika, 76, 77.
Catuṣkanirhāra, II 269.
Celebes, 299.
Cephas, 26, 41, 49, 58, II 339.
Ceylon, II 9, 250, 261.
Chalā, II 5, 6, 18.
Chalmers, 195.
Chandaka, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175.
Chāndogya-Upaniṣad, II 303.
Chavannes, 61, 132, 136, 153, 157, 160, 165, 168, 172, 203, 214, 234, 277, 339, 401, 407, 427, 446, 448, II 68, 71, 72, 73, 99, 133, 168, 261, 288, 315, 328.
Ching Hwo, II 172.
Clercq (le), 37, II 338.
Coedès, 30, 64, II 260, 288.
Cohen Stuart, 7, 23, II 335.
Cohn, II 350.
Colijn, II 346.
Cora, II 338.
Cornelius, 33, 34, 37, II 159, 169, 233, 335, 338.
Cotteau, II 339.
Cowell, 231, 232, II 67, 133.
Crawfurd, 4, 6, II 159, 333, 335.
Csoma, 61, 234, II 99, 100, 154.
Cuḍḍabodhi-jātaka, 359, 391, II 203, 206.
Cūlanandiya-jātaka, 407, 428.
Cullanārada-jātaka, 448.
Cullavagga, 14.
Cundā, II 108, 278, 292, 293.
Cunningham, 115, 145, 203, 218, 303, 338, 356, 364, 366, 369, 374, 377.

Çaça-jātaka's, 326, 449, 459, 470, 473, II 204.
Çailā, 283, 290, 291, 301.
Çailendra, 29, 30, II 326, 349.
Çākī, 176.
Çakra, 18, 76, 110, 116, 117, 122, 129, 130, 131, 138, 140, 156, 169, 170, 172, 173, 187, 188, 193, 194, 212, 216, 217, 218, 227, 241, 242, 243, 244, 263, 268, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 319, 320, 321, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 334, 336, 338, 341, 342, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 354, 355, 356, 401, 405, 406, 408, 410, 412, 413, 422, 423, 425, 449, 460, II 70, 83, 84, 89, 117, 126, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 270, 275, 276.
Çakra-jātaka, 341.

Çākya, 1, 124, 125, 128, 132, 133, 134, 137, 139, 140, 143, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 160, 164, 165, 166, 172, 447, II 283.
Çakuntalā, 266.
Çākyamitra, II 325.
Çākyamuni, 107, 132, 230, 301, 411, II 1, 4, 5, 65, 66, 68, 70, 71, 85, 96, 146, 149, 151, 152, 153, 167, 168, 174, 180, 181, 191, 193, 194, 207, 214, 219, 221, 247, 248, 250, 251, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 259, 260, 261, 266, 271, 275, 278, 283, 284, 286, 287, 291, 292, 299, 301, 303, 304, 306, 311, 316.
Çākyasingha, II 304, 308.
Çalmali, 68.
Çāntamati, 168.
Çāntideva, II 1.
Çarabha-jātaka, 370, II 342.
Çarad Candra, 63, 69, 75, 76.
Çāriputra, II 3, 69.
Çatapattra-jātaka, 394.
Çibi- and Çivi-jātaka's, 236, 239, 243, 275, 276, 277, 319, 320, 321, 335, 336, 337, 338, 343, 403, 422, 423, II 229.
Çikhaṇḍin (brahman), 214.
Çikhaṇḍin (king), 237, 283, 284, 292, 293, 294, 301.
Çikhin, 139, 466.
Çikṣāsamuccaya, II 1.
Çiṣyalekha, 63.
Çiva, 3, 13, 138, II 9, 40, 79, 161, 170, 171, 180, 238, 277, 294, 299, 300, 303, 339, 340.
Çivi, see Çibi.
Çramaṇamaṇḍala, II 3, 18, 21.
Çrāvastī, 285, 300, II 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 283.
Çreṣṭhi-jātaka's, 324, 356.
Çrīgarbha, 111.
Çrīguptasūtra, 475.
Çrīmatī, II 4, 12, 62, 63.
Çrīsambhava, II 4, 12, 62, 63.
Çrīvijaya, 30, II 288.
Çroṇapasanta, II 4, 10, 12.
Çubhāçubhakarmavipākanirdeça, 62.
Çubhāçubhaphalaparīkṣa, 62.
Çubhakṛtsna, 76.
Çubhāngga, 141.
Çuddhāvāsa(kāyika), 76, 103, 136, 160, 166, 174, 189, 218.
Çuddhodana, 104, 108, 109, 118, 121, 122, 123, 125, 126, 128, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 153, 154, 155, 163, 164, 165, 175, II 304.
Çūnyatāvāda (°din), II 181, 325.
Çūra, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 320, 321, 327, 335, 360, 371, 380, 440, II 282, 317, 318, 326.
Çyāmāka, 284, 285, 297, 298, 301, 397.
Çyāmatārā, II 295, 296.

Daçabhūmīçvara, II 101.
Daçadigbodhisattvasāmudrasannipatimahotsavavikrīḍita, II 100.
Daghi, 42, II 334.
Daguerre, 37.
Dakṣiṇāpatha, II 4.
Damamuka, 231.
Dana, 31, 34.
Daṇḍapāṇi, 146, 151, 152, 153.
Danoeningrat, 6.
Danyakāra, II 3.
Day, II 241.
Daya Rām Sahni, II 156.
Delaporte, 64.
Dēmak, II 345, 348.
Devadatta, 148, 149, 151, 152, II 283.
Devakusuma, 19.
Dhammapada, 232.
Dhana, 237.
Dharmacārin, 166.
Dharmadhātu, II 298.
Dharmagaveṣin, 278.
Dharmagrāma, II 4, 11.
Dharmagupta, II 288.
Dharmakīrti, II 317, 325, 330.
Dharmapāla, II 99.
Dharmapura, 7.
Dharmavajrī, II 311.
Dhārmika-Subhūti, II 307.
Dharmoccaya, 102.
Dhātā, II 300.
Dhātvīçvarī, II 311. See also Bajradhātvīçvarī.
Dhṛtarājya, 109.
Dhṛtarāṣṭra (palace), 109.
Dhṛtarāṣṭra (god), 214.
Dignāga, II 99, 309, 315, 317, 325, 327, 329.
Dihyang, Dieng, 30.
Dinaya, 24, 25.
Dīpangkara, 184, II 259, 260, 261.
Divākara, 57.
Divarūpa, II 310.
Divaukasa, 261, 262, 272.
Divyāvadāna, 63, 230, 231, 233, 234, 238,

239, 240, 241, 244, 246, 251, 261, 266, 267, 268, 270, 282, 285, 292, II 67, 85, 89, 133, 192, 282, 287, 289, 318.
Djago, II 192. See also Jajaghu.
Djambi, II 288.
Dong Duong, 174.
Draviḍa, II 3, 5, 17, 32.
Dresden, 40.
Druma, 237, 249, 257, 260.
Dulva, 234, 235, II 289.
Dundubhisvara, 60.
Durdharṣa, II 272.
Durga, II 4, 10, 12.
Durgā, II 108, 339.
Duroiselle, II 134.
Dvāravatī, II 4, 9, 12, 13, 277.
Dvāviṃçatyavadānamālā, 231, 447.

Edkins, II 73, 99, 154, 322.
Eerde (van), 17, II 346, 348.
Eitel, II 99, 154, 322.
Ekottarāgamasūtra, II 71.
Ela, 2.
Elāpatra, II 283.
Elliot, II 350.
Elurā, II 315.
Erp (van), 10, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 22, 28, 33, 36, 42, 43, 45, 46, 49, 96, 100, 396, 406, 407, 421, 430, 431, 441, 449, 460, 462, 471, II 66, 74, 75, 80, 84, 116, 117, 119, 169, 170, 172, 235, 238, 265, 341, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 340, 351.

Fa Hien, 232, II 73, 288.
Fa-kiu-pi-yu-king, 420, 431.
Fausböll, 232, II 133.
Feer, 61, 63, 64, 67, 75, 76, 77, 79, 231, 232, 234, 414, 461, II 99, 154, 155, 269, 318, 338.
Fergusson, 19, 105, 136, 277, 338, 339, II 337, 345.
Ferrand, 30, 468, II 288.
Finot, 6, 61, 232, II 133, 250, 251, 288, 350.
Foĕ Kouĕ Ki, 64.
Foucaux, 100.
Foucher, 1, 8, 11, 12, 71, 76, 105, 106, 114, 115, 120, 121, 128, 131, 132, 136, 142, 145, 160, 171, 174, 175, 180, 182, 191, 195, 196, 202, 203, 204, 206, 214, 215, 218, 228, 229, 233, 235, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 249, 251, 253, 255, 257, 259, 267, 268, 269, 272, 273, 275, 277, 282, 285, 290, 291, 293, 300, 305, 310, 321, 338, 339, 341, 349, 364, 369, 372, 375, 377, 380, 382, 384, 387, 393, 399, 422, II 9, 24, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 91, 96, 99, 102, 134, 151, 152, 153, 155, 156, 164, 167, 168, 173, 212, 250, 259, 260, 264, 268, 270, 271, 278, 283, 287, 288, 292, 342, 343, 344, 345, 349, 350.
Fournereau, 64, 326, 350, 456.
Frankfurter, 210.
Friederich, 6, 10, 19, 21, 22, 35, II 161, 162, 163, 170, 171, 334, 335, 336, 337.

Gallois, II 340.
Gaṇḍavyūha, II 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 12, 16, 22, 23, 24, 75, 77, 78, 88, 98, 114, 115, 264, 271, 277, 282, 319, 320, 321, 322, 326, 350.
Gandhāra, 14, 71, 105, 114, 115, 121, 131, 134, 135, 142, 145, 148, 149, 152, 153, 157, 167, 168, 169, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 177, 181, 183, 187, 196, 197, 198, 200, 203, 205, 214, 215, 218, 228, 229, 338, II 75, 76, 103, 168, 249, 337, 343, 349.
Ganges, 220, 221, 302.
Garuḍa, 51, 59, 60, 399, 403, 404, II 212, 277, 279, 280.
Gautama, 177, 178, 182, 183, 185, 211, 220, 223, 225, 226, II 65.
Gautamī, 133, 134, 137, 139, 140, 165.
Gayā, 182, 183, 220, 221.
Gayāçīrṣa, 182, 183.
Gericke, 5.
Getty, II 97, 99, 155, 156.
Ghanavyūha, II 2, 6.
Ghaṇṭaçālā, 205.
Ghāts, 18, II 9, 274.
Giesenhagen, II 342.
Goldstücker, II 214.
Gondangan, II 165, 341, 348.
Gopā, 146, 147, 153, 154, 155, 157, 159, 163, 164, 167, 168, 169, II 4, 11, 12, 60.
Gorris, II 314.
Grandidier, II 240.
Griffiths, 106, 115, 120, 136, 142, 160, 180, 204, 215, 277, 321, 339, 364, 393, 422, II 134.
Groeneveldt, 13, 18, 40, 49, II 155, 166, 167, 224, 244, 273, 313, 335, 338, 339.
Groneman, 6, 45, 421, II 212, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345.
Groot (de), 8, 9, II 101, 223, 320, 349.
Grünwedel, 76, 131, 132, 203, 229, 238, 311, 326, 347, 350, 351, 387, 393, 456, II 68, 75, 97, 147, 154, 155, 167, 268, 271, 273, 278, 339, 340.

Guhyaka, 116.
Guhyakendra, II 324.
Guhyapati, II 167, 324.
Guṇadharma, 26.
Guṇavarman, II 288.
Gupte, II 241.
Guttila, 408.

Hackin, 107, 132, 210, 301.
Haeckel, II 342.
Halāhala-Lokeçvara, II 293.
Halaka, 247, 248, 250, 251, 252.
Hamel (van), II 337.
Hamer (den), II 264, 276.
Haṃsa-jātaka, 342, 361, 363.
Haraprasād Çāstrī, II 2, 4, 7, 12, 17, 18.
Hardy, II 250.
Hāritī, II 291, 292.
Hartmann, 34, 35, 36, II 161, 162, 171.
Hasti-jātaka, 382.
Hastings, 221.
Havell, II 191, 192, 344, 346, 349.
Hayagrīva, II 295, 297.
Hayam Wuruk, 30, 386, 451, II 238, 242, 299. See also Rājasanagara.
Hemacandra, 53.
Herringham, 321, 339, 364, 422, II 134.
Heyligers, II 171.
Himālaya, 125, 134, 302, 349, 367, 420, 429, 430.
Hi-Neng, II 172.
Hinloopen Labberton (van), II 344.
Hiru, 283, 284, 292, 296, 299, 300, 301.
Hiruka, 284, 299.
Hiuen Tsiang, 401, 443, II 72, 73, 99, 144, 168, 307.
Hodgson, 232, II 1, 2, 4, 7, 144, 145, 154, 155, 320, 323.
Hoenig, II 351.
Hoepermans, 2, 20, 35, II 161, 162, 163, 336, 337.
Hoernle, 221.
Hoëvell (van), II 160, 162, 334, 335.
Hornell, 347, II 238, 349.
Hose, II 338.
Hrīdeva, 157, 158.
Huber, 203, 231, 239, 275, 282, 284, 297, 420, II 133, 249, 287, 314, 343.
Hultzsch, 205, 304, 366, 369.
Humboldt (von), 4, II 144, 152, 334.
Huyser, II 223, 347, 348.
Hwa-yen-sūtra, II 99.

Içāna, II 313.
Içānabajra, II 305.
Içaṣa, II 3, 21.
Içvara, II 299, 300, 311.
Ijiri, II 351.
Indra (god), 76, 197, 398, II 83, 275, 283, 341.
Indra (human), II 4, 11, 12.
Indriyeçvara, II 3, 18, 21, 34.
I-tsing, 59, II 72, 223, 252, 287, 288, 290, 315, 329.
Ivanovski, 231, 315, 397, 398, 399.

Jajaghu, 73, 74, II 145, 147, 268, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 302, 313. See also Djago.
Jajawa, II 294.
Jambudvīpa, II 3.
Janmacitraka, 246, 247, 250, 251, 252.
Jātakamālā, 82, 230, 232, 233, 244, 312, 313, 314, 315, 321, 334, 335, 364, 369, 380, 393, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 421, 423, 433, 440, 449, 470, 471, II 59, 247, 275, 282, 317, 318, 339, 340, 344, 345.
Jātakamālāpañjikā, 314.
Jayaṣīnāyatana, II 3, 6, 14, 15, 16, 21, 46.
Jayoṣmāyatana, II 5, 6.
Jayottama, II 5, 21, 51.
Jěnggī, 468.
Jetāvana, 447, II 283.
Jinapada, II 304.
Jñānabajreçvara, II 306.
Jñānaçivabajra, II 306.
Jñānavajra, II 306.
Jñāneçvarabajra, II 306.
Jochim, 100, 268, 408, II 83, 130, 265, 267, 269, 270, 276, 343, 347.
Jogjakarta, 18, 23, 32.
Joyānabajra, II 305.
Julien, 420, 431, II 72.
Junghuhn, 35, II 334.
Juynboll, 34, 71, 74, II 97, 155, 156, 157, 171, 227, 263, 274, 293, 334, 338, 342, 345.
Jyostiṣka, II 283.

Kacchapāvadāna, 406, 427.
Kāçi, 219, 220.
Kāçīsundarī, 57, 58.
Kāçyapa, II 68, 71, 283.
Kailāsa, 475, 476.
Kalasan, II 290, 291, 326.
Kālasūtra, 65, 67.
Kālika, 196, 197, 198.
Kalingavana, II 4, 10, 12.

Kalmāṣapāda, 385, 386, 387.
Kalpadruma, 63.
Kalpadrūmāvadānamālā, 231, II 318.
Kāmadhātu, 76, 77, 109, II 146.
Kāmāvacara, 123, 129, 195, 206, 207.
Kamer (van de), 43, 44, II 341.
Kañcanakkhanda-jātaka, 441, 455.
Kāñci, II 99.
Kaniṣka, 10, 11.
Kañjur, 61, 64, 234, 241, 471, II 99, 154, 269, 289.
Kaṇṭhaka, 168, 169, 170, 172, 173, II 231.
Kapila(vastu), 11, 109, 123, 124, 125, 134, 136, 146, 148, 168, 171, II 4, 11, 12.
Karaṇḍavyūha, 80, II 133.
Kara Shahr, 178.
Karmaçataka, 59, 231.
Karmavajrī, II 311.
Karmavibhāga, 79.
Karny, II 350.
Karuṇapuṇḍarīka, II 72.
Kathāvatthu, 63.
Kats, II 95, 96, 99, 147, 307, 313.
Kauçika, 216. See Çakra.
Kaumudī, 344, 388.
Kaurava, 384.
Kĕdiri, 7, II 297.
Kĕdu, 2, 3, 18, 22, 32, 34, 37, 40, II 161, 171, 337.
Ke-gon, II 320.
Kern, 3, 19, 23, 24, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54, 59, 61, 62, 71, 73, 195, 206, 239, 312, 313, 314, 316, 386, 451, II 73, 85, 98, 133, 145, 156, 166, 269, 289, 294, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 305, 306, 313, 317, 323, 328, 329, 330, 338, 339, 340, 342, 346, 348.
Kersjes, II 264, 276.
Khagarbha, II 273, 297. See also Akāçagarbha.
Khara, 284, 297, 301.
Khuddaka-nikāya, 232.
Kien-Tsung, II 172.
Kinsbergen (van), 18, 24, 25, 26, 39, 41, 122, II 244, 336, 337, 339, 340, 344, 346, 347.
Kīrti, 212.
Knebel, II 341, 345.
Koçala, 322, 446, 447.
Koeppen, 77, II 65, 146.
Kṛṣṇa, II 296.
Kṛṣṇāyaṇa, II 296.
Kṛtanagara, II 214, 294, 295, 305, 306, 312.
Kṣānti-jātaka, 335, 377.
Kṣāntivādin, 377, 378, 379, 380, II 174.
Kṣemendra, 231, 241, 265, 266, 314, 406, 447.
Kṣitigarbha, II 273, 292, 314.
Kroḍya, 172.
Kuçika, II 303.
Kukkuṭapāda, II 68.
Kulāgara, II 4, 20, 21.
Kulmāṣapiṇḍī-jātaka, 322.
Kumārajīva, 275.
Kumbha-jātaka, 350.
Kuñjarakarṇa, 71, 72, 74, 80, II 159, 296, 298, 301, 302, 303.
Kuñja Vihari Kāvyatīrtha, II 7.
Kunst, II 241, 244, 351.
Kurukullā, II 278.
Kusumapura, 8.
Kuvera, 17, 18, 19, 138, 326, 413, II 291, 292, 293.

Laḍitavyūha, 198.
Lalitavistara, 56, 76, 99, 100, 101, 103, 104, 107, 112, 134, 137, 142, 150, 154, 169, 170, 171, 208, 221, 229, 232, II 1, 2, 23, 32, 67, 101, 133, 180, 182, 184, 247, 248, 254, 275, 276, 281, 287, 288, 289, 316, 324, 325, 326, 342.
Lalitavyūha, 168, 199.
Lampong, II 228.
Landresse, 64, 67, 70.
Langkā, II 3.
Laos, II 243.
Lara Djonggrang, 21.
Lassen, II 336.
Laufer, 221, II 202.
Law, II 214.
Leclercq, II 340.
Leemans, 1, 17, 20, 33, 37, 38, 99, 236, II 89, 151, 160, 161, 162, 163, 166, 170, 171, 244, 333, 334, 336, 337, 333, 339.
Lefmann, 100, 101, 150, 232, II 133.
Legge, 232.
Lévi, 61, II 68, 71, 73, 74, 99, 287, 288, 289, 298, 328.
Leyden, 34, 37, 38, II 97, 156, 171, 333, 334, 335.
Locanā, II 295, 296, 304, 309, 311.
Locanapura, II 304.
Lokaprajñāpti, 61.
Lokeçvara, II 96, 263, 293, 295, 301, 311, 313, 317, 351. See also Avalokiteçvara.
Lokottaravāda, II 289.
London, 40.

Long-men, 132, 277, 389, II 72.
Loudon, II 161.
Louw, 34, II 339.
Lucretius, II 148.
Lüders, 335, 380.
Lulius van Goor, 282, 291, II 155, 204, 250, 298, 348.
Lumbinī, 120, 126, 127, 128, 134.
Lumbung, II 291.

Macassar, II 236.
Mādhyamika, II 114, 325, 327, 328.
Madhyāntika, II 73.
Madjakĕrta, II 155.
Madura, II 228.
Magadha, 131, 178, 182, 219, 229, 423, 424, II 4, 11, 12.
Magĕlang, 2, 4, 6, 7, 17, 33, 34, 35, 36, 40, 43, II 161, 162, 170, 171.
Mahābhārata, II 5, 296.
Mahābhiniṣkramaṇasūtra, 196, 246, 310.
Mahābodhi, 11, 145, 202, 206, 218, 229, II 168, 169, 283.
Mahābodhi--jātaka, 364, 365, 366, 367.
Mahābrahmāṇa, 76.
Mahādeva, II 4, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 40, 56, 277, 300, 303. See also Çiva.
Mahāguhya, II 309, 310.
Mahākāçyapa, 57, II 70.
Mahākāla, II 300.
Mahākapi-jātaka's, 367, 369, 375.
Mahākātyāyana, 283, 284, 285, 289, 290, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301.
Mahāmara, II 300.
Mahāmora-jātaka, 471.
Mahāprabha, II 3, 5, 19, 21, 36.
Mahāprabhu, II 3.
Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī, 133, 139, 165.
Mahāpraṇāda, II 67.
Mahāraurava, 66, 68, 324.
Mahāsamaja, II 72.
Mahāsamayasūtra, II 24.
Mahāsambhava, II 3, 19, 21.
Mahāsangghika, II 307.
Mahāsthāmaprāpta, II 267.
Mahāvagga, II 250.
Mahāvairocana, II 147.
Mahavairocanābhisaṃbodhisūtra, II 320.
Mahāvastu, 63, 65, 68, 70, 231, 233, II 133.
Mahāvyutpatti, II 269, 272, 274.
Mahāyānasūtrālangkāra, II 74.
Maheçvara, 136.
Mahīṣa-jātaka, 391, 393.
Mahn, II 349.
Maineya, 172.
Maitrakanyaka, Maitrakanyakāvadāna, 239, 240, 246, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, II 229, 289, 340, 343, 344.
Maitrāyana, II 5, 6.
Maitrāyanī, II 3, 5, 6, 16, 21, 33.
Maitreya, 47, 106, 107, 228, II 4, 8, 10, 12, 21, 24, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 92, 93, 94, 96, 101, 102, 105, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 133, 134, 135, 152, 153, 156, 221, 257, 262, 265, 266, 267, 268, 271, 273, 280, 282, 286, 292, 293, 297, 320, 321, 322, 329, 336, 347.
Maitrībala-jātaka, 332, 334, 335, 380, 398.
Majapahit, II 238, 294, 303, 312, 313, 326, 345.
Majjhima, 63.
Māladhvajavyūha, II 3, 7, 20.
Malay Mountains, II 9.
Malayu, II 288, 295, 315.
Malla, 172.
Māmak(h)ī, II 295, 309.
Mānasa, 361, 362.
Māndhātar, Māndhātravadāna, 236, 239, 241, 242, 261, 262, 263, 266, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 408, II 59, 275, 289.
Mañjuçrī, II 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 17, 20, 21, 22, 30, 77, 92, 102, 114, 115, 135, 260, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 291, 292, 293, 297, 298.
Manoharā, 234, 236, 247, 248, 249, 252, 253, 256, 257, 259, 260.
Mantranaya, II 307, 309, 315, 316, 324.
Mantrayāna, II 305, 307, 330, 331.
Māra, 156, 171, 185, 186, 188, 197, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 209, 210, 324, 325, 327, II 70, 108, 278, 308.
Marīcī, II 293.
Mātali, 341.
Mataram, 29, 32.
Mathurā, 145, II 134.
Mātiposaka-jātaka, 401, 421.
Matsumoto Bunzaburō, II 68, 71.
Matsya-jātaka, 348.
Māyā, 104, 107, 108, 109, 110, 113, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 122, 123, 126, 127, 128, 129, 131, 133, 184, II 4, 11, 12, 60, 166, 191, 220.
Mdo, 61, 62, 79, 314, 471, 475, II 100.
Megha, II 3, 5, 6, 71, 20, 32.

Meghaçrī, II 3, 5, 17, 20, 31.
Meinsma, 3, 31, II 337, 342.
Mĕndut, 3, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 25, 228, II 92, 93, 95, 108, 177, 178, 189, 256, 264, 267, 270, 274, 276, 291, 292, 293, 314, 315, 323, 346.
Mengun, II 336.
Mĕrapi, 3, 30.
Mĕrbabu, 3.
Meronov, II 269.
Meru, 76, 180, 184, 201, 206, 262, II 302, 336.
Meruçikharadhara, II 272.
Meyer, 27, II 339.
Milanapura(ṇa), II 3, 17, 20.
Mi-lei p'ou sa chang cheng Teou-chouei t'ien king, II 71.
Mil-ei tch'eng fo king, II 71.
Milindapaṃha, 81, 408.
Millies, II 336.
Milloué (de), II 100.
Minayeff, 63, II 98, 329.
Ming-Oi, 178.
Minoreh, 3, 26.
Mitatoṣala, II 4.
Mithilā, 408.
Moens, II 91, 147, 155, 269, 292, 298, 306.
Moluccas, II 235.
Mookerji, II 236, 347.
Moquette, II 172, 345.
Mora-jātaka, 471.
Morangan, II 79.
Morris, 232.
Mrangen, II 165.
Mṛgadāva, II 144.
Much, II 349.
Mucilinda, 210, 211.
Müller (E.), 417.
Müller (Max), 312, II 99, 321.
Münnich, 42, II 334.
Muktasāra, II 4, 11, 12, 62.
Mūlaka, II 3, 19, 21.
Mūlamadhyamakakārikās, 56, II 269.
Mūlasarvāstivādin (°vādanikāya), II 287, 288, 289, 290, 318, 329.
Muntilan, II 165.

Nāgarakṛtāgama, 1, 7, 30, 89, 451, II 156, 207, 208, 238, 242, 294, 295, 298, 303, 312, 313, 350.
Nāgārjuna, 56, 63, 64, 65, 67, 68, 70, 75, II 269, 325.
Naipāliya Devata Kalyana, II 154.
Nairañjanā, 183, 184, 186, 191, 192, 194, 195, 211, II 191.
Naiṣadha, II 5.
Nala, II 3, 5, 6, 19, 21, 36.
Nāladhvaja, II 3, 19, 21.
Nālandā, II 99, 315.
Nalapura, II 3, 16, 21.
Nanda, 129, II 89, 283.
Nandana, 305, 309.
Nandi, II 9, 40, 56, 277.
Nandika, 189.
Nandiya, 428, 429, 430.
Nanjio, II 68, 98, 99, 114, 299, 320, 321.
Nānuhara, II 4, 21.
Naradatta, 134, 135.
Nārāyaṇa, 138.
Neil, 231, II 67, 133.
Nepal, 232, II 1, 96, 97, 144, 145, 147, 150, 154, 155, 166, 167, 259, 266, 273, 275, 282, 296, 298, 306, 317, 320.
Ngandjuk, II 95, 97, 297, 298.
Ngaran, II 165, 336.
Nichiren, II 98.
Nidānakathā, 232.
Niermeyer, II 340, 341.
Nīlakaṇṭhadhāraṇī, II 305.
Nimi, 408.
Nirmāṇarati, 76, 77.
Nor-Bzangs, 234.
Noto Soeroto, 2.
Nying-ma-pa, II 322.

Oldenberg, 14, II 329.
Oldenburg, 230, 231, 232, 239, 260, 312, 313, 314, 315, 406, 421, 422, II 133, 134, 339.
Oldfield, II 273, 291, 298.

Padang, 299.
Padmā, 176.
Padmaka, 457, 458.
Padmapāṇi, II 92, 93, 146, 260, 262, 267, 292. See also Avalokiteçvara.
Padma Thang Yig, 57, II 99, 154.
Pagān, 99, 106, 110, 115, 117, 120, 127, 128, 132, 136, 137, 145, 153, 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168, 169, 172, 174, 178, 180, 181, 182, 183, 186, 191, 192, 193, 196, 200, 203, 205, 206, 229, 311, 321, 326, 347, 350, 351, 387, 393, 456, II 134.
Pagarruyung, 19.
Paisa, II 4, 20, 21, 22, 37, 38.
Pakubuwana, 31, II 337.

Pāla, II 330.
Palembang, II 288.
Panataran, II 244.
Pañcaçikṣāniçaṃsasūtra, 64, 65.
Pañcagati(dīpanam), 63, 64, 67, 68, 75, 77.
Pañcakrama, II 274, 323, 324, 325.
Pāñcāla, 246, 247, 249, 250, 260, 446.
Pāñcika, 248, 255, II 291.
Pāṇḍava (Mt.), 178, 179, 180.
Pāṇḍava's, 450.
Pander, II 97, 154, 155, 167.
Pāṇḍuravāsinī, II 295, 309.
Pāṇini, 49.
Paññāsa-jātaka, 232.
Papua, 468.
Paramaguhya, II 310, 311.
Paramārtha, II 74, 319, 320.
Paranirmāṇavāçin, 76.
Paranirmitavaçavartin, 76, 77.
Paris, 64, II 7, 151, 341, 342.
Parittābha, 76.
Parittaçubha, 76.
Parjanya, 348.
Parmentier, II 216, 344.
Pārthayajña, II 296.
Paṣatmaṇḍala, II 4, 9, 12.
Patijn, II 341, 342.
Pawon, 3, 15, 17, 18, 19, II 52, 94, 346.
Payen, II 338.
Pegu, 338.
Pelliot, II 2, 288, 320.
Peri, II 66, 68, 72, 74, 315.
Peshawar, 10.
Petavatthu, 232.
Pfeiffer, II 335.
Phal-chen, II 100.
Phené Spiers, 19, II 345.
Pitāmaha, II 300.
Plaosan, 13, II 92, 95, 269, 293.
Pleyte, 99, 100, 104, 108, 109, 116, 122, 126, 127, 140, 143, 144, 145, 155, 166, 169, 172, 186, 198, 200, 202, 204, 207, 209, 213, 217, 220, 223, 226, II 200, 214, 223, 276, 302, 342, 343, 350.
Poensen, 32, II 342.
Poerbatjaraka, 6, II 156, 305, 350, 351.
Potalaka, II 4, 9, 12, 54, 264.
Prabhūta, II 3, 6, 18, 19.
Prabhūtā, II 5, 6, 18, 19, 21, 34.
Prabhūtaratna, II 261.
Pracaṇḍa, 57, 58.
Praga, 2, 3, 14.
Prajñāpāramitā (goddess), II 293, 297, 310.
Prajñāpāramitā (text), II 99, 306, 307, 329.
Prajñāptiçāstra, 61.
Prambanan, 18, 21, 33, 55, II 174, 188, 189, 216, 227, 293.
Prapañca, II 303.
Prasangga, II 325.
Prasenajit, II 85.
Pratāpana, 66, 68.
Prītyāhāravyūha, 208.
Pṛthuraṣṭra, II 4, 20, 21.
Puini, II 97, 100.
Puṇyaprasava, 76.
Puraṃdara, 194. See Çakra.
Pūrṇavijaya, II 301, 302.
Puruṣādaçānta(ka), 386, II 298, 299, 301.
Pūrvavideha, 262.
Puṣpa, II 305.
Puṣya, 283, 284.

Quarles van Ufford, II 337.

Raçmiprabha, II 3, 22.
Rādhā, 187.
Raffles, 4, 5, 32, 33, II 159, 333, 334, 336, 337, 338, 349.
Raivata, 177.
Rājagṛha, 178, 179, 181, 182, 224, 282, 283, 285, 287, 292, II 283.
Rājasanagara, II 299, 304. See also Hayam Wuruk.
Rājendralāla Mitra, 57, 100, 401, 404, 407, 427, II 2, 7, 14, 17, 18, 25, 72.
Rāma, 181, 182, 218.
Ramaṇaka, 305, 307.
Rāmavarta, II 3, 17, 20.
Rāmāyaṇa, II 174.
Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā, 232, II 133.
Ratnabhijjiha, II 4, 10, 12.
Ratnacūḍa, II 3, 19, 21, 35.
Ratnapāṇi, II 93, 94, 95, 102, 146, 273, 297.
Ratnasambhava, II 150, 282, 295, 300, 301, 304, 311.
Ratnāvadānamālā, 231, II 318.
Ratnavajrī, II 311.
Rātridevatā, II 4, 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 57, 58.
Raurava, 66, 68.
Rea, 205.
Reinwardt, II 334.
Rémusat, 64.
Reuvens, II 334.
Rgyud, II 99, 100, 154.
Rhys Davids, 14, II 330.

Rochussen, 37.
Rockhill, 471, 475.
Römer (von), 81.
Roeské, 65, 68.
Rohita, 457.
Rohitavastu, 220.
Roorda, 5.
Roruka, 282, 283, 284, 285, 287, 288, 297, 301.
Rouffaer, 39, II 148, 149, 160, 163, 190, 268, 335, 339, 341, 342, 345.
Ṛṣipatana, 103, 219, 224.
Rudraka, 181, 182, 218.
Rudrāyaṇa and Rudrāyaṇāvadāna, 237, 239, 240, 244, 245, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 291, 292, 293, 301, 307, 454, II 174, 289, 343, 348.
Rumpin, II 339, 343, 348.
Rūpadhātu, 76, 77, II 146.
Rūpāvacara, 207.
Ruru-jātaka, 372.
Ryauon Fujishima, II 98, 320.

Sachs, II 241.
Sadāmatta, 305, 308.
Ṣaḍdanta-jātaka, 399, II 319.
Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, II 72, 98, 104, 269, 299, 322.
Saddharmasmṛtyupasthānam, 61.
Sādhīna-jātaka, 408.
Sadjiwan, II 293.
Sāgara (India), II 3, 17, 20.
Sāgara (nāga), 193, 194.
Sāgara (Java), II 207.
Sāgaramegha, II 3, 17, 20, 31.
Sāgaramukha, II 3, 17, 20.
Saher (von), II 341.
Salam, II 165.
Salaman, 4, II 165.
Samādhirāja, II 72.
Samantabhadra, 47, 405, II 2, 4, 8, 22, 29, 77, 78, 79, 91, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 140, 146, 153, 260, 268, 270, 271, 272, 282, 286, 292, 293, 321, 322, 323, 324, 326, 348.
Samantabhadracaryā, II 98.
Samantabhadracaryāpranidhānasūtra, II 114, 115.
Samantabhadradhyānasūtra, II 98.
Samantabhadrotsāhanaparivarta, II 98.
Samantakusuma, 208, 209.
Samantamukha, II 3, 19, 21.
Samantanetra, II 3, 19, 21, 36.
Sambulā-jātaka, 244, 279, 280, 281, 282.
Saṃghāta, 65, 67, 68, 72.
Saṃmatīya, II 144.
Samudrakatīha, II 4, 8, 12, 63.
Samudraprasthāna, II 3, 18, 21.
Samudravelatī, II 3, 15, 17, 21.
Sānchi, 76, 115, 132, 160, 171, 173, 174, 206, 229, 338, 349.
Sañjaya (in jātaka), 335, 336.
Sañjaya (of Java), 3.
Sañjīva, 65, 67.
Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan, II 95, 99, 145, 147, 157, 158, 159, 167, 261, 291, 298, 306, 307, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 320, 322, 323, 324, 326, 327, 331.
Saptakumārikāvadāna, 404.
Sarabhangga-jātaka, 153.
Sāradaya, II 5, 6.
Sāradhvaja, II 3, 6, 17, 20, 32, 33.
Sarasvatī, II 297.
Sārathi, 220.
Sāri, 13, II 291.
Sārnāth, 11, 115, 132, 145, 174, 204, 210, 229, II 156.
Sarvagāmina, II 5, 6.
Sarvāgrāma, II 4, 6, 19, 20, 21, 22, 37.
Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin, II 102, 274, 292, 293.
Sarvārthasiddha, 134.
Sarvāstivādin, 56, 61, 64, II 289.
Satvavajrī, II 311.
Saudāsa, II 300, 301.
Sautrāntika, 61.
Scheffer, II 338.
Scheltema, II 347.
Scheurleer, II 349.
Schiefner, 234, 241, 314, II 67, 72, 98, 168.
Schlagintweit, II 155, 156.
Schmidt, 231, 449.
Schönberg Müller, 37, 39, II 335.
Schreve, 65.
Seidenstücker, 99, 106, 110, 115, 117, 120, 127, 128, 132, 136, 137, 145, 153, 158, 161, 164, 166, 168, 169, 172, 174, 178, 180, 181, 182, 186, 191, 192, 193, 196, 200, 203, 205, 206, 229.
Selagriya, 3, 34.
Sela Mangleng, II 294.
Sēmarang, 32.
Senart, 63, 231, II 133, 329.
Senbyu, II 336.

Sëndara, 3.
Serindia, 132, 142, 152, 172, 183, 192, 203, 229.
Serrurier, II 340.
Sewell, II 165, 343.
Sewu, 17, 18, 21, II 179, 293, 334.
Shaefer, 37.
Shāh-jī-ki-Dherī, 10.
Shin-gon, II 147, 320.
Siam, 42, 210, 311, 326, 456, II 243, 341, 345.
Siddhārtha, 175, 184, II 231, 238.
Siddhayogīçvara, II 305.
Si-dô-In-dzou, II 100, 154.
Siebold (von), II 97.
Sieburgh, 37, II 334.
Sigāla-jātaka, 396, 420, 421.
Siṃhahanu, 152.
Siṃhaketu, II 3, 6, 16, 21.
Siṃhapotī, II 3, 19, 21.
Siṃhavijṛmbhita, II 3, 16, 21.
Siṃhavyasambhitā, II 4, 10, 12, 21, 51.
Sindhu, 285.
Siṇḍok, 30, II 313, 314.
Singasari, II 163, 294.
Sipat-iman-akung, 240.
Sisantana, 72.
Sivirātra, II 4, 11, 12, 62.
Skanda, 138.
Sladen, II 336.
Smith, II 346.
Snelleman, II 340.
Sollewijn Gelpke, 40, II 338.
Somendra, 314.
Sotthisena, 279, 280.
Spaan, 6.
Speyer, 100, 151, 231, 232, 239, 243, 246, 308, 310, 312, 313, 314, 316, 370, II 157, 306, 307, 318, 342, 343, 344.
Spooner, 10, 183.
Staël Holstein (von), II 270.
Stein, 107, 115, 132, 142, 149, 152, 157, 161, 168, 171, 172, 174, 178, 183, 192.
Stein, see Callenfels.
Sthāvarā, 201.
Stūpasaṃdarçanaparivarta, II 104.
Stūpāvadāna, 447.
Stutterheim, 56, II 174, 227, 244.
Subhapārangama, II 4, 10, 12.
Subhāṣitagaveṣin, 278.
Subhāṣitasaṃgraha, II 1.
Subhūti, II 306, 307.
Subhūtipāla, II 307.
Subhūtitantra, II 306, 307.
Sudarçaṇa (gods), 76.
Sudarçaṇa (monk), II 3, 5, 6, 14, 16, 18, 21, 34.
Sudarçaṇa (nāga), 221.
Sudhana and Sudhanakumārāvadāna, 233, 234, 237, 239, 240, 246, 247, 248, 249, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 302, 404, II 191, 279, 289.
Sudhana (Gaṇḍavyūha), II 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 42, 43, 44, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 77, 100, 114, 115, 264, 271, 272, 282, 321.
Sudhanakumārā, II 271, 295.
Sudharma, 102.
Sudṛça, 76.
Sugatāvadāna, II 72.
Sugrīva, II 3, 17, 20.
Suh-ki-li-lih-kin, 64.
Suhṛllekha, 56, 64, 68.
Sujāta, 212.
Sujātā, 187, 189, 190, 191, 193.
Sukhāvatī, II 321.
Sukhāvatīvyūha, II 99, 321.
Sukhodaya, 326, 350, 456.
Sumanā, II 4.
Sumati, II 272.
Sumatra, 6, 13, 19, 30, II 99, 214, 223, 228, 288, 295, 315, 317, 323.
Sumbing, 3.
Sumitrā, II 4, 10, 12, 52.
Sumukha (haṃsa), 361, 362, 363.
Sumukha (town), II 3, 4, 12, 18, 21.
Suṇḍa, 30.
Sundarananda, 148, 149, 151, 152.
Sung Yun, 448.
Supāraga-jātaka, 345, 346, 347, 348.
Suprabha (land), II 4, 5, 19, 21.
Suprabha (man), II 3, 17, 21.
Supratiṣṭhita, II 3, 5, 6, 14, 20, 31.
Surendra, II 4, 11, 12, 62.
Surendrābhā, II 4, 11, 12, 61.
Surūpa, 424, 425.
Sūrya, 138, 212.
Susvara, 60, 90.
Sutasoma(-jātaka), 384, 385, 386, 387, II 299, 300, 301.
Sūtrālaṅkāra, 231, 243, 275, 420, II 249.
Suvarṇābha, 59.
Suvarṇadvīpa, II 99, 288, 315.
Suvarṇaprabhāsa, 471, 475, 476, 477.

Suvarṇavarṇa, 51, 57, 58, 59, 90.
Suvarṇavarṇā, 59.
Suyāma, 110.
Svabhāvika, II 154.
Svastika, 194, 195, 196.

Takakusu, 56, 59, 61, II 74, 223, 287, 288, 319, 320, 328.
Takkārīya-jātaka, 245, 304.
T'ang, II 2, 6, 172.
Tañjur, II 269, 307.
Tantra, Tantrayāna, II 305, 306, 307, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 323, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332.
Tantri, 394, II 298.
Tantular, 386, II 299, 300.
Tapana, 66, 68.
Tapoda, 179.
Tārā, II 14, 290, 292, 293, 295, 296, 297, 298, 304, 309, 317, 324.
Tāranātha, 314, 315, 396, 397, II 72, 73, 98, 168, 288, 307, 315, 317, 318, 323, 328, 330.
Ta-shin-mi-yen-king, II 2, 6.
Theragāthā, 232.
Therīgāthā, 417.
Thomas, 314, II 307, 317.
Tidar, 2.
Tigawangi, 7, 8.
Tissandier, II 340.
Tiṣya, 283, 284.
Ti-tsang, II 314. See also Kṣitigarbha.
Tjandirĕdja, II 95.
Tonkin, II 243.
Tonnet, II 215, 223, 344.
Tosala, II 4, 20, 21.
Trailokyavijaya, II 293, 314.
Trai Phum, 65, 68, 70, 311.
Trapuṣa, 212, 214.
Trayastriṃça, 76, 77, II 283.
Trimūrti, II 299, 300.
Trināñjana, II 3, 16, 21.
Tripiṭaka, 234, 407, 446, 448, II 71, 133, 282.
Tuloḍong, 29, 30.
Tumpang, 73, II 294.
Tun-Huang, 115, 132, 142, 149, 152, 157, 161, 168, 171, 172, 174, 183, 192.
Turkestan, 107, 174.
Tuṣita, 76, 77, 101, 102, 104, 105, 106, 111, 112, 116, 306, 309, 310, II 67, 69, 71, 72, 73, 74, 242, 266, 281, 320.
Tuṣitakāyika, 141, 157.
Tuuk (van der), 240, 394, II 302.

Uccadhvaja, 104.
Ugrasena, II 283.
Ugrateja, 107, 108.
Undagi, 42, II 335.
Unmādayantī-jātaka, 343, 344, 345.
Upalisutta, 414.
Upananda, 129, II 69, 89.
Upoṣadha, 241, 261, 263, 266, 268.
Uruvilvā, 183, 186, 189, 191.
Uruvilvākalpa, 222.
Uṣṇīṣavijayā, II 294.
Utpalabhūti, II 4, 20, 21, 37.
Uttarā, 190.

Vaçavartin, 196.
Vaḍavāmukha, 346, 347.
Vaiçālī, 177, 262.
Vaiçravaṇa, 138, 212, 214.
Vaijayanta, 122.
Vaipulyasūtra, II 289, 317.
Vairocana, 71, 80, II 97, 146, 147, 150, 151, 152, 156, 158, 159, 282, 296, 298, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 311, 313, 316, 320, 323.
Vaitaraṇī, 70.
Vajapura, II 3, 17, 20.
Vajracchedikāprajñāpāramitā, II 307.
Vajradhara, II 154, 155, 157, 167, 308, 323, 324.
Vajrakāma, II 324.
Vajrakāya, II 324.
Vajrapāṇi, 116, 171, 177, 187, 196, II 92, 96, 102, 103, 104, 105, 109, 146, 260, 261, 263, 267, 270, 273, 276, 291, 292, 293, 301, 311, 313.
Vajrasattva, II 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 167, 263, 282, 293, 297, 308, 311, 320, 322, 323, 324, 327.
Vajrasiṃha, 314.
Vajravāca, II 324.
Vajravarāhī, II 293.
Vajrayāna, II 307.
Valāhassa-jātaka, II 133.
Valck, II 160, 334.
Vallée Poussin (de la), 56, 61, 63, 76, II 9, 98, 269, 274, 323, 324, 329.
Varā, II 6, 25, 42, 58, 60.
Variga, II 298.
Vartakāpotaka-jātaka, 349.
Varukuccha, II 4, 11, 12.
Varuṇamati, II 272.
Vasantī, II 6, 60.
Vasubandhu, 51, II 72, 74, 99, 320, 328, 329.

Vasudhārā, II 293.
Vedānta, II 303.
Veṇuvana, 57.
Verbeek, II 339.
Veṣṭhila, II 4, 10, 12, 54.
Veth, II 338, 340.
Vicitrakarṇikāvadāna, 231.
Viçeṣa, II 310.
Viçvakarman, 275, 276, II 276.
Viçvāmitra (Gaṇḍ.), II 4, 11, 12, 61, 62.
Viçvāmitra (Lalit.), 141, 142.
Viçvaṃtara-jātaka, 334, 335, 336, 338.
Viçvapāṇi, II 146, 273.
Viçvarūpa, II 323.
Videha, 380.
Vidhi, II 302, 303, 304.
Vidhurapaṇḍita-jātaka, 404.
Vidusa, II 5, 6.
Vidvaṅ, II 3, 6, 19, 21, 34, 35.
Vieng Sa, II 260.
Vighnotsava, II 298.
Vijñānavādin, II 325, 327.
Vimalā (part of the universe), 199.
Vimalā (goddess), 139, 140, II 275.
Vimalaprabha, 189.
Vimalaprabhāsa, 199.
Vimalavyūha, 139.
Vinaya(piṭaka), II 287.
Vink (de), 11, II 346, 348.
Virūḍhaka, 214.
Virūpākṣa, 214.
Vīryabala, 431.
Viṣṇu, 403, II 79, 277, 297, 299, 300, 311.
Viṣṇuvarddhana, II 294.
Visser (de), II 68, 71, 212, 260, 273, 314, 320, 323.
Visuddhi-magga, 232.
Vogel, 404, II 134, 250, 347, 348, 351.
Vokkāṇa, 285, 298, 301.
Vṛatāvadānamālā, 51.
Vreede, 243.
Vyāghrī-jātaka, 316.

Waddell, 77, 240, II 9, 99, 155, 167, 308, 323, 324.
Walleser, II 99, 329.
Warington Smith, II 236.
Warren (I), 232.
Warren (II), 303, 305.
Wassiljew, II 68, 72, 98, 99, 155, 317, 320, 324, 325, 330.
Watanabe, 386, II 78.
Weber, II 214.
Wenzel, 56, 64.
Wiener, 239, II 340.
Wilsen, 6, 17, 20, 21, 35, 37, 38, 39, 42, 43, 99, 100, 127, 133, 162, 165, 175, 191, 198, 200, 209, 239, 312, II 160, 161, 162, 166, 170, 236, 245, 335, 336, 337, 338, 350.
Winter, 6.
Winternitz, II 2, 289, 317.
With, II 176, 349.
Wogihara, II 74.
Wo-mei-shan, II 99.
Woodward, II 330.
Wou-t'ai-chan, II 72.
Wukir, 3.

Yaçomitra, 61.
Yajña-jātaka, 339.
Yama, 67, 71, 72, 73, 391, II 83, 277, 280, 301, 302.
Yāma, 76, 77.
Yang Loh, II 172.
Yavadvīpa, II 288.
Yavadvīpapura, II 314.
Yid-Hphrog-Ma, 234.
Yogacār(y)a, II 1, 74, 99, 114, 115, 154, 315, 316, 317, 318, 322, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 331, 332.
Yogacāryabhūmiçāstra, II 75.
Yogāvacara, II 330.
Yogiçvara, II 302.
Yule, 1, II 150, 336, 337, 338.
Yun-kang, 132, 153, 157, 160, 165, 168, 172, 203, 214.
IJzerman, 17, 27, 41, 48, 62, 238, 239, 245, 408, II 95, 151, 269, 276, 293, 238, 339, 341.

Zachariae, 313.


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